

BODY, DRESS,  
AND IDENTITY  
in Ancient Greece



MIREILLE M. LEE



## BODY, DRESS, AND IDENTITY IN ANCIENT GREECE

This is the first general monograph on ancient Greek dress in English to be published in more than a century. By applying modern dress theory to the ancient evidence, this book reconstructs the social meanings attached to the dressed body in ancient Greece. Whereas many scholars have focused on individual aspects of ancient Greek dress, from the perspectives of literary, visual, and archaeological sources, this volume synthesizes the diverse evidence and offers fresh insights into this essential aspect of ancient society. Intended to be accessible to nonspecialists as well as classicists, students as well as academic professionals, this book will find a wide audience.

Mireille M. Lee is Assistant Professor of History of Art and Classical Studies at Vanderbilt University. She has published widely on various aspects of ancient Greek dress. She has held fellowships from the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, the American Council of Learned Societies, the Center for Hellenic Studies, the Packard Foundation for the Humanities, and the Whiting Foundation. Her research and teaching focus on gender issues in antiquity and the modern world. She is currently at work on her next book, on the social meanings surrounding ancient Greek mirrors.





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*For my teachers, with gratitude.*



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# INTRODUCTION

Greek dress seems very familiar because it is all around us. Ancient Greek dress pervades our visual culture, from Hollywood movies and television to commercial advertising.<sup>1</sup> The Western art historical canon is populated with figures wearing “antique” garments, from Rubens to Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema (Figure 0.1). Fashion design has referenced ancient Greek dress since the early nineteenth century, and such borrowings remain popular among contemporary designers, as showcased in the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s 2003 exhibition “Goddess: The Classical Mode” (Figure 0.2).<sup>2</sup> Few question the accuracy of such representations, which are designed to meet our expectations of what Greek dress looked like. But what do we really know about Greek dress, and how do we know it?

Despite popular interest in ancient Greek dress, it has received comparatively little scholarly attention compared to other aspects of visual and material culture. No single-authored monograph on the subject has appeared in the English language for more than a century. Yet many important observations about Greek dress have been published in studies of Greek art, archaeology, literature, religion, technology, social history, and especially gender and sexuality studies. One goal of the present volume is to synthesize the diverse scholarship on ancient Greek dress and make it accessible across the various subfields within classical studies and related disciplines. The basic organizing principle of this book is borrowed from contemporary dress theory, which views dress as an embodied social practice by means of which individuals and groups construct identity. The structure of the book, with the body as the foundation for multiple layers of various dress practices, presents Greek dress as a coherent system of nonverbal communication. Such an approach brings a much-needed theoretical framework to the material and allows ancient Greek dress to become part of the larger scholarly discourse within dress studies. My primary aim is to demonstrate the profound significance of dress in ancient Greek society: I argue that dress was the primary means by which individuals negotiated identity and the only way in which some highly charged social constructs could be communicated – especially gender, status, and ethnicity.





FIGURE 0.1. *Sappho and Alcaeus*, Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, 1881. ©The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, 37.159.



FIGURE 0.2. Front cover of *Goddess: The Classical Mode*, by Harold Koda, published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2003. ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Cover incorporates Madeleine Vionnet, French (1876–1975). Evening pajamas of white silk crepe with matching scarves, 1931. Copyright ©2009 Condé Nast. From *Vogue Magazine*. All rights reserved. Photograph by George Hoyningen-Huene. Reprinted by permission.



To situate my study, I begin with a historiography of the scholarship on ancient Greek dress. Such a long view is necessary to identify the biases and misperceptions that have determined our understanding of the material. I then present an overview of contemporary dress theory and the means by which dress functions as a means of nonverbal communication. Although dress theory generally assumes a living community, I argue that it can be fruitfully applied to the ancient evidence, allowing us to recover the social significance of dress practices that would otherwise be lost to us.

The second chapter introduces Greek conceptions of human bodies in mythology, philosophy, and medicine. A basic hierarchy of bodies follows: ideal bodies (boys, military trainees, and adult citizens); indeterminate bodies (pre-pubescent girls, virgin maidens, and married women); and non-ideal bodies (older adults, sex workers, servants and slaves, barbarians, and the disabled). This chapter ends with a discussion of how modern theoretical perspectives on the body can help us understand ancient Greek bodies, in particular the phenomenological approach of Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*, and Judith Butler's notion of gender as performance. The primary purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate that the Greek conception of human bodies was fundamentally different from our own; hence, the meanings associated with the dressed body were unique to Greek society.

The first "layer" of dress on the body takes the form of body modifications, the subject of [Chapter 3](#). Temporary modifications to the body, including the prescriptions of diet, exercise, and bathing known as the *diaita*, as well as the use of perfumes and cosmetics, and transformations of cephalic and body-hair, were generally understood as elite practices. Permanent body modifications, including wounds and scars, surgical transformations of the body including prosthetics and piercing, as well as tattooing, scarification, circumcision, and head binding, were identified with non-elites, especially foreigners. In this chapter I demonstrate that the repeated performance of temporary modifications to the body allowed elites to constantly reaffirm their identities, while permanent body modifications marked foreigners as perpetually outside Greek society.

[Chapter 4](#) provides an overview of Greek garments, from the textiles themselves to the various types of undergarments, overgarments, and foreign imports that have been identified by scholars. While recent scientific analyses have enhanced our knowledge about fibers, dyes, and means of production, the conventional typologies of garments have been subjected to increased scrutiny. Although it might not be possible (or desirable) to abandon the traditional nomenclature for garments, it is important that we recognize the tenuous nature of many identifications. In this chapter, I argue that a preoccupation with the identification of garments has diverted scholarly attention away from other aspects of dress such as body modification and accessories; and arguments

over typology do little to advance our understanding of the phenomenology of garments and their social functions.

Chapter 5 includes all other articles of dress, including garment fasteners such as pins and buttons, belts, jewelry, headgear (including veils), footwear, and various handheld accessories such as mirrors and walking sticks. Unlike garments, many of these objects survive archaeologically, often in association with the bodies of deceased individuals, giving important information about the functions of accessories and their social meanings. Because many accessories are made of metal and other precious materials, they are often indicators of wealth and status – especially for women.

The following chapter considers the body itself as a form of dress. Taking Larissa Bonfante's concept of "nudity as a costume" as a starting point, I trace the critical perspectives on undress in classics, art history, and sociology, and explore the different meanings associated with male and female "undress." I argue that, for the elite, male undress always refers on some level to athletic nudity, while female undress is associated with the desirability of the fertile female body. This section includes an excursus on the Aphrodite of Knidos, which holds a central place in the discourse on nudity and nakedness, both ancient and modern. Chapter 6 concludes with a discussion of partial undress and bodily display, including diaphanous or transparent garments, and underscores the dynamic relationship between the body and dress.

The final chapter synthesizes the findings of the preceding chapters in the specific social contexts of dressed individuals, from birth to death – or swaddling clothes to burial shrouds. Here, the social meanings attached to dress are clearly articulated, for boys and girls, men and women, in coming of age rituals, the military, marriage, pregnancy and childbirth. I then discuss the myriad functions of dress in religion and ritual, including prescriptions and proscriptions of dress in Greek sanctuaries, the dress of religious officials, articles of dress as cultic objects, and ritual dress practices; a special section on the Panathenaia demonstrates the special significance of dress in the central ritual of the Athenian sacred calendar. I briefly address the legal issues surrounding dress, which are particularly concerned with the regulation of dress practices in death and mourning, both for the deceased and the bereaved. The structure of this chapter helps to connect ancient Greek dress practices with our own, and demonstrates that all societies use dress as a means of socialization and to negotiate identity throughout the individual life-course.

This study is intended to be accessible to a broad readership, including trained classicists as well as nonspecialists, especially students and experts in dress studies. Greek terms have been transliterated according to generally

accepted conventions, and ancient texts are cited in translation.<sup>3</sup> Extensive knowledge of ancient Greek culture among readers is not assumed; references to further reading are provided throughout. While classicists will not need such signposts as a guide to the discipline, these readings should aid students and scholars in other fields.

The subject of ancient Greek dress is too expansive to be addressed adequately in a single volume. The present study is generally limited to dress of the Archaic and Classical periods, roughly 600–323 BCE, though some earlier and later material is included when relevant. My rationale for these parameters is based on the available evidence: prior to the sixth century, the visual, archaeological, and literary sources are relatively sketchy and difficult to reconcile; the evidence for Greek dress in the Hellenistic and later periods, though more abundant, is extraordinarily complex as a result of the dramatic social changes following the conquest of Alexander. It is an accident of history that much of the evidence from the Archaic and Classical periods derives from Athens and the surrounding countryside of Attica. I have taken care to note the origin of my sources and not to assume that the Athenian evidence reflects Panhellenic practices in general. Because my intent is to reconstruct the dress codes of actual communities, I have focused on the evidence for the dress of “real” people. Hence, the dress of divinities and other mythological figures is considered only as it helps to elucidate constructions of human identities. Finally, I have made only occasional reference to Homeric dress, which seems to follow different conventions from those of the Archaic and Classical periods, and for which the visual evidence is debatable.<sup>4</sup>

The evidence on which this study is based is threefold: visual, textual, and archaeological. Following is a brief overview of the types of sources used, the information we can gain from them, and their limitations.

#### VISUAL EVIDENCE

Because dress is first and foremost (though not exclusively) a visual medium, the artistic evidence is especially important for reconstructing ancient Greek dress. Unfortunately, the visual sources are often misleading. Because the ancient coding community is not accessible to us as a check, we must approach the visual evidence with caution. On the one hand, artists took liberties in their depictions of garments and accessories; their interests were more often aesthetic than ethnographic, and we should not expect to read the visual sources as documentary evidence of actual practices. But while images are often simplified and idealized, repeated patterns may reflect actual features of dress, ideological constructions, or both.

Large-scale sculpture in the round has traditionally been the most fruitful for the study of ancient Greek dress. Indeed, the study of ancient Greek dress has been largely dependent on the study of monumental sculpture, and vice versa. The development of Greek sculpture in the Archaic period can be traced through the series of *kouroi* (youths) (e.g., [Figure 2.4](#)) and *korai* (maidens) (e.g., [Figures 4.14, 5.8](#)), free-standing sculptures that served as grave markers and were dedicated as votives in sanctuaries. While the *kouroi* are mostly nude, the *korai* display a dizzying array of garments, hairstyles, jewelry, and footwear that seems to reflect actual styles that were worn in life. By the Classical period, *kouroi* and *korai* were abandoned in favor of more naturalistic, though idealized, renderings of males and females, human and divine (e.g., [Figures 2.5, 6.4](#)). Similar developments can be seen in architectural sculpture, which becomes increasingly important in the fifth century BCE with the construction of major temples at Olympia ([Figures 4.6, 6.5](#)), Athens ([Figure 6.8](#)), and Bassae ([Figure 6.6](#)). In the late fifth and fourth centuries, funerary sculpture regains popularity in the form of *stelai* with idealized figures carved in relief (e.g., [Figures 3.15, 4.22](#)). Votive *stelai* (e.g., [Figure 7.10](#)) generally depict the dedicators in the presence of divinities.

The larger scale of such works allows for a fair amount of detail in the rendering of garments and accessories. Unfortunately, such details cannot always be trusted. Sculptors often took liberties in the rendering of the dress or may not have understood how certain elements were constructed. Experiments in reconstructing ancient garments have proved, for example, that the diagonal *himatia* worn by many *korai* are impossible to replicate in reality. In addition, the original polychromy of marble statues is now largely lost, as are the metal attachments that replicated jewelry and headgear.<sup>5</sup> Finally, we cannot be sure that Greek sculptors were replicating contemporary styles, especially on mythological or divine figures.

Dressed individuals are represented on Greek vases throughout the Archaic and Classical periods. Ceramic vessels were used for a range of purposes but were especially important for the *symposion*, a ritual in celebration of Dionysos in which elite men would gather to drink wine, recite poetry, and enjoy the entertainments of musicians and *hetairai* (female companions) (e.g., [Figure 6.1](#)). In the sixth century, vases were decorated primarily using the black-figure technique, in which the figures were rendered in silhouette and the details incised with a sharp tool (e.g., [Figure 5.3](#)); other colors could be added, especially white and purple. Around 525 BCE, the red-figure technique was invented, which allowed for more subtle details to be painted in the reserved space of the figure (e.g., [Figure 3.2](#)). The white-ground technique used red, yellow, blue, and black pigments to create a polychromed

effect (e.g., [Figure 2.1](#)), though the colors tend not to preserve well as they were applied after firing.

The evidence for dress on Greek vases is complex. Although the diversity of dress styles discernible on vases makes them difficult to categorize, such complexity may better reflect the realities of Greek dress. Many details are hard to decipher, given the small scale of the figures and the limitations of the pictorial medium.<sup>6</sup> It is often difficult to determine whether the imagery is mythological, or should be considered “generic.”<sup>7</sup> Finally, although Greek vases were produced primarily in Athens and Attica during this period, many were exported to Etruria, where they were deposited in Etruscan tombs. We cannot be sure in every case whether the imagery reflects Athenian society or was created to appeal to an Etruscan clientele.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, since most vases show figures as part of a narrative, they give important evidence for the social contexts of Greek dress.

Another important category of visual evidence is the broad range of small-scale figurines in bronze (e.g., [Figure 5.15](#)) and terra cotta (e.g., [Figure 6.3](#)), which were dedicated in sanctuaries and buried in graves. While many of these were mass produced in stock molds, it has been suggested that the figurines best reflect the dress of actual individuals.<sup>9</sup>

## TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

Dress is mentioned in Greek literature from the earliest periods. Although Homeric dress is outside the parameters of this study, the lyric poetry of Hesiod, dating to the seventh century BCE, is essential to the Greek conception of the dressed female body. Likewise, Greek philosophers and medical writers of the fifth and fourth centuries, especially Aristotle and the Hippocratics, explain distinctions between male and female bodies and the appropriate regimens for each sex.

The most important literary source for the present study is Aristophanes, whose comedies were first produced in Athens in the late fifth and early fourth centuries BCE.<sup>10</sup> Because comedy reflects everyday life more than other literary genres, it is a rich source for actual Greek dress practices. But the texts cannot always be taken at face value: many details are lost to us that would have been easily comprehensible to ancient viewers, especially with the aid of stage costumes and props. And we cannot be sure in many cases whether dress is serving a comedic function and therefore does not reflect reality. Finally, although Aristophanes mentions many types of garments and accessories, it is often difficult to identify them in the visual sources, so their appearance is lost to us.

Other prose writers of the Classical period, especially Herodotus (fifth century BCE) and Xenophon (late fourth to mid-third century BCE), provide important observations on dress, and especially the differences between Greek and foreign practices. Theophrastus (mid- fourth to early third century BCE) gives pertinent information about the materials used for perfumes and cosmetics, for example. Although the Roman sources are often rich, I have tried to limit the evidence to the Greek periods as much as possible.

A final category of textual evidence is the epigraphic sources. Especially important are the so-called Brauronion clothing catalogues, inscribed *stelai* recording dedications of garments to Artemis at her sanctuary at Brauron, in rural Attica.<sup>11</sup> Inscriptions are also essential for reconstructing prescriptions and proscriptions of dress in Greek sanctuaries.

#### ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The archaeological evidence for ancient Greek dress is in many ways the most important; yet it is the most understudied.<sup>12</sup> Artifacts such as jewelry and cosmetic implements provide our only physical connection to the dressed individual in antiquity. And yet, it is difficult to interpret a single object, or the dress of a single individual, in isolation. The meanings of dress practices can be deciphered only in the repetition of patterns. It is perhaps for this reason that scholars of ancient Greek dress have not extensively utilized the archaeological evidence, which often remains buried in disparate excavation reports.<sup>13</sup>

Archaeological evidence for dress is generally found in two very different contexts: sanctuaries and graves. Objects dedicated in sanctuaries are usually those with inherent value such as metal jewelry (e.g., [Figures 5.10](#) and [5.11](#)), dress fasteners (e.g., [Figure 5.1](#)), and mirrors (e.g., [Figure 5.22](#)).<sup>14</sup> It is unclear in most cases whether these objects were dedicated because of their function as dress accessories, or for the value of the metal. In addition, some of these objects may have been heirlooms when they were dedicated, which complicates chronologies. A more extensive range of artifacts has been recovered from funerary contexts (e.g., [Figure 5.2](#)), including pigments used for cosmetics (e.g., [Figure 3.6](#)), perfume pots (e.g., [Figure 3.5](#)) – even fragments of textiles. A particular advantage of the funerary evidence is that it is often possible to learn the sex of the dressed individual and where on the body specific articles were worn. Unfortunately, we cannot know in most cases whether objects recovered from the grave reflect those worn in life. Finally, the desirability of such artifacts for collectors means that many dress accessories are without known context.

While each category of evidence is limited in its own way, taken together, the evidence for ancient Greek dress is extraordinarily rich. The challenge for the modern researcher is to piece together the disparate sources as coherently as possible, while allowing for lacunae. Because certain aspects of ancient Greek dress are unrecoverable, a conventional history of ancient Greek dress is not possible. But the theoretical models provided by modern dress studies allow us to analyze the evidence in a new way, providing fresh insights into some very old material.

## ANCIENT GREEK DRESS AND MODERN DRESS THEORY

This chapter is not about ancient Greek dress per se but rather the study of Greek dress from antiquity to today. Such a broad chronological overview is necessary to demonstrate how we know what we *think* we know about Greek dress – and what we do not know. I have deliberately focused on the scholars and publications that have been most influential in the development of the field.<sup>1</sup> In many ways, our understanding of dress follows the broader trajectory of the discipline of classical studies. On the other hand, I argue that the conventional feminine associations of dress rendered it an unpopular topic for serious academic study. While Greek dress has enjoyed increased scholarly interest in recent years, few have taken into account the important developments in the burgeoning field of dress studies. The second part of this chapter provides an overview of the basic theoretical principles underlying contemporary dress theory and outlines a new approach to ancient Greek dress that is the basis for this study.

### A HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT GREEK DRESS

Ancient Greek dress has captured the interest of scholars, writers, and artists since antiquity. Many authors of the archaic and classical periods provide what might be considered “firsthand” observations on dress. Later Greek and Roman authors refer to these early works in their own writings, sometimes citing passages verbatim but often interpreting the texts within their own



frame of reference.<sup>2</sup> The same phenomenon is discernible in the visual sources. In particular, Roman sculptors frequently took liberties in their rendering of Greek garments, most of which were no longer worn in life and were therefore unknown to both artists and viewers.<sup>3</sup>

Although the Byzantine lexicographers and commentators on Greek texts were even further removed from Archaic and Classical Greece, their interpretations provided the foundation for the first “modern” studies of ancient Greek dress in the Renaissance.<sup>4</sup> *De re vestiaria libellus* by Lazare de Baïf (1496?–1547) is a compendium of Greek and Latin terms for dress defined according to their supposed Renaissance correlates.<sup>5</sup> The volume is devoid of illustrations, betraying a complete dependence on literary sources. In the seventeenth century, Albert Rubens (1614–1657), son of the painter Peter Paul Rubens, wrote a treatise on ancient dress entitled *De re vestiaria veterum praecipue de lato clavo libri duo* (1665).<sup>6</sup> As an early archaeologist and historian, Rubens consulted both ancient monuments and written sources. The influence of Rubens’s work is discernible in his father’s paintings, particularly in his depiction of the Roman toga.<sup>7</sup>

By the eighteenth century, burgeoning numbers of excavated monuments permitted study of ancient dress on the basis of actual representations. The difficulty of reconciling observed garments with the names of garments given by the ancient authors is lamented by the esteemed Benedictine scholar “the Learned Father” Bernard de Montfaucon (1655–1741):

There is no Part of Antiquities more curious and useful than that which treats of the Habits; and none also more obscure. We are equally at a Loss to find out the Shape of a great many Habits mentioned by *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, and to discover by what names they called other Habits which Monuments shew us the Form of, without their Name.<sup>8</sup>

Although Montfaucon is careful in his identifications of ancient garments, he often describes them in contemporary terms, causing confusion for later scholars.

Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768), so influential in the historiography of ancient art, contributes surprisingly little to our understanding of Greek dress. His early pamphlet, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst* (1755), includes a short section on “Drapery” that is primarily a discussion of the artistic rendering of garment folds and “the art of clothing naked figures.”<sup>9</sup> Winckelmann’s discussion of drapery is greatly expanded in his monumental treatise, *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (1764), in which he identifies garments of various types.<sup>10</sup> Although he suggests a distinction between Dorian and Ionian styles of women’s dress, surely on the basis of the testimony of Herodotus, he fails to differentiate between them, conflating the two in his discussion of types of garments.<sup>11</sup>

The later decades of the eighteenth century witnessed increased popular interest in ancient social customs and in particular ancient dress. Publications



1.1. Dandré-Bardon, *Costume des anciens peuples, à l'usage des artistes*, 1784, pl. 70. ©Picture collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

of ancient Greek dress were now lavishly illustrated, in order to assist artists in their renderings of ancient subjects. The encyclopedic *Costume des anciens peuples, à l'usage des artistes* published by Michel François Dandré-Bardon (1700–1783) is primarily a compilation of plates of ancient figures and scenes (a few reflecting actual monuments; see [Figure 1.1](#)) with little explanatory text.<sup>12</sup> Anne Claude Philippe, Comte de Caylus de Tubières (1692–1765), an avid collector of antiquities and patron of archaeology, published several volumes of ancient sculpture and painting. His curious *Tableaux tirés de l'Iliade, de l'Odyssée d'Homère et de l'Eneide de Virgile; avec des observations générales sur le Costume* (1757) is a plea to Enlightenment artists to conform as closely as possible to the original sources in their renderings of ancient subjects.<sup>13</sup> In 1776, André Corneille Lens (1739–1822), a painter, published *Le costume; ou, Essai sur les habillements et les usages de plusieurs peuples de l'antiquité, prouvé par les monuments*.<sup>14</sup> Though less erudite than the works of Montfaucon and Winckelmann, such publications made the visual evidence accessible to a broad audience.

Certainly the most influential early writer on Greek dress was the British antiquarian Thomas Hope (1769–1831). A proponent of classical influences

in the arts and design, Hope is credited with the invention of the Neo-classical style of dress for women, “an enchanting compromise between the fashions of the fifth century B.C. and of 1810.”<sup>15</sup> He intended his *Costume of the Ancients* (Figure 1.2) “to afford artists a convenient and a cheap collection of those leading features of ancient costume.”<sup>16</sup> Hope professes not to offer the scholar “anything likely to prove interesting or useful, either immediately, or at any future period whatsoever,”<sup>17</sup> and indeed, his work is rarely referred to in subsequent scholarship. Nevertheless, the immense popularity of *Costume of the Ancients*, attested by its repeated republication, might be attributable to the fact that little else was available in English – and perhaps also the charm ascribed to “quaint old Hope.”<sup>18</sup>

Whereas French and British scholarship of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries focused primarily on the aesthetics of ancient Greek dress, German scholarship followed a very different trajectory. Following Winckelmann’s allusion to Doric and Ionic styles of dress, Carl August Böttiger (1760–1835) identifies the earliest Greek feminine dress of the Doric tribes as a sleeveless garment comprised of two pieces of cloth attached at the shoulders with clasps, in contrast to the later Ionic garment, which was sleeved and worn without clasps.<sup>19</sup> Böttiger’s distinction between *doriazein* (“to dress Dorian”) and *ionezein* (“to dress Ionian”)<sup>20</sup> became the basis for scholarly inquiry for the next century, especially given the profound influence of Karl Otfried Müller (1797–1840), in particular the *Geschichte hellenischer Stämme und Städte (Die Dorier)* (1820–1824).<sup>21</sup>

The specific names of the individual Dorian and Ionian feminine garments were established by Franz Studniczka (1860–1929) in his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der altgriechischen Tracht* (1886).<sup>22</sup> Citing linguistic evidence in favor of an Indo-European root for the word *peplos*, Studniczka argued that the Dorian garment, which was pinned like Indo-European garments, must have been called *peplos*. This was the original feminine garment of the Dorian (that is, Indo-European, Aryan) tribes, who later suffered a sort of “Semitic infiltration” in the form of the Ionian *chiton*, which had a Semitic origin.<sup>23</sup> Although Studniczka’s thesis is clearly driven by prevailing pro-Aryan and anti-Semitic attitudes, his identification of the Dorian *peplos* and the Ionian *chiton* remains central to most scholarship on Greek dress to the present day.<sup>24</sup>



1.2. Hope, *Costume of the Ancients*, 1812, pl. 63. Source: Smithsonian Library.

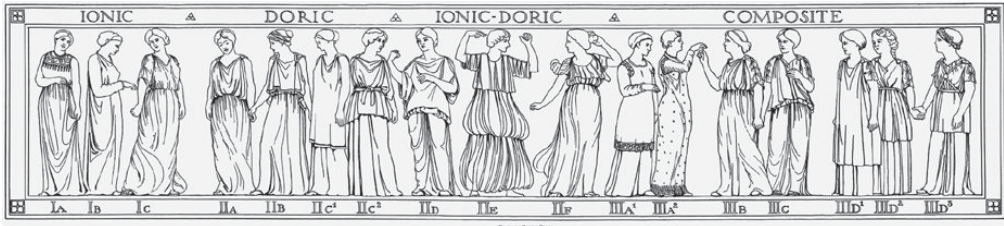
Concurrent with the publication of Studniczka's study, a major cache of archaic sculpture, including dozens of *korai* (maidens), was recovered from the Athenian Acropolis. The sculptures were remarkably well preserved, owing to the fact that they were buried shortly after their dedication, following the destruction of the citadel by the Persians in 480/479 BCE. Most of the statues retained their original polychromy, providing important new evidence for the colors and decoration of Greek women's garments. They also displayed a remarkable array of garments that seemed not to conform to Studniczka's scheme.

The incongruities were so great that the next synthetic studies of Greek dress, by (Lady) Maria Millington Evans (1893) and Ethel Abrahams (1908), confined their discussions of the Acropolis *korai* to separate chapters.<sup>25</sup> While both studies owe much to Studniczka (Evans replicates many of his diagrams), they are equally concerned with accounting for the new archaeological evidence, not only the Acropolis *korai* but also the major discoveries at "pre-Hellenic" sites such as Knossos and Mycenae. Both authors express a desire to make their findings accessible to the public so that they might properly recognize and replicate ancient styles for themselves. Interestingly, while most earlier (and later) studies focus exclusively on garments, both Evans and Abrahams devote chapters to head- and footgear, and Abrahams includes sections on hairstyles and "the toilet." As the first female scholars of ancient Greek dress, it is clear that they had a more holistic understanding of dress than their predecessors (and many of their successors).

The problem of the multiple and mixed styles of the Doric and Ionic *chitones* is the subject of a rarely cited 1923 University of Pennsylvania doctoral dissertation by the American artist, lithographer, and author Albert Winslow Barker (1874–1947) entitled "A Classification of the Chitons Worn by Greek Women as Shown in Works of Art."<sup>26</sup> Considering separately the representation of *chitones* in monumental sculpture, grave reliefs, and vase painting, Barker establishes a typology of Ionic, Doric, and "hybrid" styles (Figure 1.3) and undertakes a statistical analysis of the frequency of their appearance in different media. Barker concludes that monumental sculptures represent "conservative tradition, mythological and religious symbolism and iconography," whereas the grave reliefs represent "realism, or rather, perhaps, the domestic ideal," demonstrating "the sharp distinction that must be drawn between the costumes attributed to the goddesses of Olympus and the heroines of myth on the one hand, and the domestic costumes of the fifth and fourth centuries in Athens on the other."<sup>27</sup> This important distinction has unfortunately been lost on some more recent scholars.<sup>28</sup>

Concurrent with Barker's study, the French scholar Léon Heuzey (1831–1922) published a typology of Greek garments in his *Histoire du costume antique, d'après des études sur le modèle vivant*.<sup>29</sup> Whereas Barker's study was based solely on

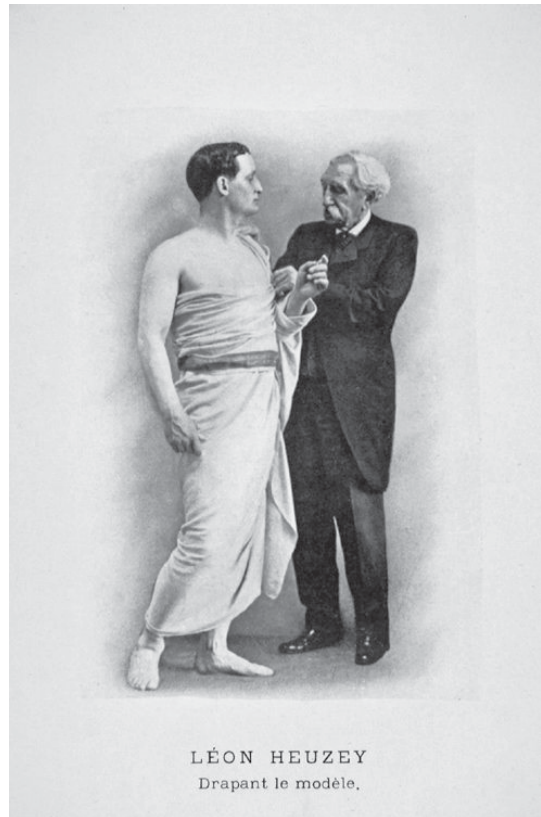




1.3. Barker, "Domestic Costumes of the Athenian Woman in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.," *AJA* 26 (1922), pl. 7.

representations in art, Heuzey draped live models, posing them to replicate the poses of ancient statues in order to discover the actual construction of the garments (Figure 1.4).<sup>30</sup> Of particular interest in Heuzey's study is his discussion of the identity of the wearers of the different types of garments and what meanings might be ascribed to them. Exploration of the potential meanings of dress fell out of favor with later scholars and only recently has enjoyed a resurgence of interest.

The studies of Margarete Bieber (1879–1978), in particular *Griechische Kleidung* (1928) and *Entwicklungsgeschichte der griechischen Tracht* (originally published in 1934), represent a true watershed in the study of Greek dress.<sup>31</sup> Whereas earlier scholars, having inherited a tradition of inquiry rooted in the ancient texts, used monuments as illustrations of named garment types, Bieber focused on the monuments themselves, and in particular the historical development of



1.4. Heuzey, *Histoire du costume antique, d'après des études sur le modèle vivant*, 1922, frontispiece.

Greek dress as it is represented in the monuments. The first volume defines specific garment types; the second considers the appearance of particular garments diachronically as they are depicted in the monuments. Following the methods employed by Heuzey, Bieber draped live models in the manner of Greek statues, carefully noting the intricacies of drapery folds and relating them back to the ancient monuments (Figure 1.5). Her commentary is almost purely descriptive,



1.5. Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung*, 1928 (repr. 1977), pl. 43.3. ©Walter de Gruyter GmbH.

with only occasional reference to earlier scholarship or to the ancient texts. Although Bieber's studies proved eminently useful for scholars in their identification of the garments depicted in Greek art (her books are lavishly illustrated with actual monuments and objects rather than simplified line drawings), her work generally neglects questions of context and meaning. Nevertheless, Bieber's work has remained the fundamental reference for nearly a century.

Subsequent scholarship has quibbled with certain details of the identification and arrangement of specific garments, but none have questioned the basic typology codified by Bieber's publications.<sup>32</sup> There are compelling reasons that scholars of sculpture, especially Brunilde S. Ridgway (b. 1929) and Evelyn B. Harrison (1920–2012), have been in the forefront of these controversies: not only are such details often more easily discernible in sculpture than in vase painting, but also the tradition of sculpture scholarship gives pride of place to close visual analysis, whereas the study of vase painting has diverged from more formal analysis in favor of semiotic and other interpretive approaches.

Ridgway's work is indicative of this more formalist approach. For example, in her study of *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture* (1970), she cites as "basic traits of the Severe style" a change in dress from the Ionic

to the Doric type, as well as a change in the treatment of the folds.<sup>33</sup> She explains these changes as being contingent on one another, rather than on any external factor:

A desire for greater simplicity must have prompted the adoption in art of a different costume which more readily lent itself to the sober rendering in favor at the time. Conversely, the actual appearance of the *peplos* must have encouraged sculptors in their "severe" approach.<sup>34</sup>

Whereas earlier scholars such as Bieber were interested primarily in the rendering of the garment in and of itself, Ridgway considers the relationship between the garment and the body, which is central to the present study.

Interdisciplinary approaches to the study of ancient Greek dress began in the 1970s, with several publications focused on the production of textiles and their use as garments.<sup>35</sup> Elsa Gullberg, a textile expert, and Paul Åström, an archaeologist, collaborated on a slim volume entitled *The Thread of Ariadne*:

*A Study of Ancient Greek Dress* (1970).<sup>36</sup> Aimed at the general reader as well as the specialist, the text is illustrated with images of ancient monuments as well as photographs of apparent “survivals” of ancient textile techniques and practices in modern Greece. Anastasia Pekridou-Gorecki’s *Mode im antiken Griechenland: Textile Fertigung und Kleidung* (1989) takes a more scholarly approach to the evidence for the production of fibers and dyes, spinning and weaving, and the use of textiles as garments and in specific social contexts such as cult.<sup>37</sup> Despite its contextual approach, this volume has received little attention outside of Europe.

Certainly the most important study of ancient Greek textiles to date is Elizabeth Barber’s *Prehistoric Textiles* (1991).<sup>38</sup> As a trained classicist and linguist, as well as an accomplished weaver, she brings a unique interdisciplinary perspective to her research. She has also done much to underscore women’s roles in textile production, and hence in the very “fabric” of society.<sup>39</sup> Although her primary interest is in textile production, she provides some important observations about the meanings of dress, in particular the colors and surface decoration of garments. The technical and social aspects of Greek textiles have been further explored in several projects sponsored by the Centre for Textile Research at the University of Copenhagen.<sup>40</sup>

The social meanings of men’s dress are the subject of A. G. Geddes’s important article explaining the transition from the luxurious *chiton* to the more moderate *himation* in the early fifth century BCE.<sup>41</sup> Absent other viable theoretical models, she employs the economic approach of Thorstein Veblen to Classical Athens to conclude that whereas the *chiton* represented conspicuous consumption, the *himation* conveyed conspicuous leisure. In the course of her analysis Geddes makes many important observations about the social meanings of dress generally, and her work has remained central in the scholarship on Greek dress.

A curious contribution to the study of ancient Greek dress is the three-volume series published in the 1990s by Georges Losfeld.<sup>42</sup> Losfeld was not an academic but an author and poet with a personal interest in ancient Greece. Nevertheless, his monumental study, the first in French since Heuzey, compiles the literary sources for Greek dress (*Essai sur le costume grec*, 1991) and the visual evidence (*L’art grec et le vêtement*, 1994), and considers the functions of “pure” drapery (*L’art grec et le draperie pure*, 1999). Although little known outside of Europe, Losfeld has done a great service in compiling the data. Unfortunately, the illustrations, schematic line drawings by the author himself, render the work less useful to those unfamiliar with the monuments.

The first decade of the twenty-first century saw a veritable renaissance in scholarship on ancient Greek dress, especially in Europe. Two international conferences held in the United Kingdom resulted in edited volumes: *Women’s Dress in the Ancient Greek World* (2002), and *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*

(2005).<sup>43</sup> In both volumes, individual papers are focused on specific topics with little continuity or synthesis between them, reflecting the current state of English language scholarship on Greek dress, which has evolved in a piecemeal fashion from specialists in Greek literature, philology, archaeology, and art history, without an overarching theoretical framework. In France, Florence Gherchanoc and Valérie Huet co-directed a research group on the body, dress, and nudity in antiquity with an explicitly anthropological approach. Selected papers presented at a series of conferences have been published in *S'habiller, se déshabiller dans les mondes anciens* (2008); *Parures et artifices: le corps exposé dans l'Antiquité* (2011); and *Vêtements antiques: S'habiller, se déshabiller dans les mondes anciens* (2012).<sup>44</sup> Unfortunately, these publications have received scant attention outside of France.

Among Anglo-American scholars, the most prolific by far has been Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones of the University of Edinburgh. In addition to the two edited volumes cited earlier, he has published many book chapters and articles on various aspects of ancient Greek dress; he is also co-author of the encyclopedic *Ancient Greek and Roman Dress from A to Z* (2007), which is easily accessible even for the nonspecialist, though biased toward the literary sources.<sup>45</sup> Llewellyn-Jones's monograph, *Aphrodite's Tortoise: The Veiled Woman of Ancient Greece* (2003), demonstrates the potential for interdisciplinary research by analyzing ancient Greek veiling practices in the context of the Muslim *hijab*.<sup>46</sup>

Missing from much of the recent scholarship on ancient Greek dress is acknowledgment of the extensive theoretical literature on dress that has developed outside the field of classics. A few individual studies have attempted to apply specific theoretical models to the study of ancient Greek dress – for example, the ideas of Thorstein Veblen and Roland Barthes – with varying degrees of success.<sup>47</sup> A recent volume on “adornment” in the ancient Mediterranean edited by Cynthia Colburn and Maura Heyn cites some of the basic theoretical literature on dress in the introduction, but it is applied inconsistently throughout the individual papers.<sup>48</sup> In the last decade, a spate of Greek publications on Greek dress, ancient and modern, has focused primarily on typology and description, on the model of ethnographic museum display, without engaging dress theory at all.<sup>49</sup> In general, the scholarship on ancient Greek dress has become marginalized both within the discipline of classical studies and in the broader field of dress studies.

### *Why (Not) Dress?*

The current state of scholarship on Greek dress can be attributed to several, quite disparate, factors. On the one hand, the typologies established in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by scholars such as Studniczka and



Bieber were generally accepted, and few new archaeological finds of the scale of the Acropolis *korai* forced reconsideration of their identifications. At the same time, archaeologists and art historians became increasingly interested in issues of connoisseurship, formal analysis, and style, so that their observations on dress did little to further our understanding of its social functions. On the other hand, some scholars avoided the study of ancient Greek dress because of its feminine associations. For much of the twentieth century, dress was considered of interest to women only, and unworthy of serious scholarly attention.<sup>50</sup> But even as women became increasingly visible in the field, few embraced dress in their research. Some early feminist scholars rejected dress as a subject *because* of its feminine connotations.<sup>51</sup> Others considered dress a superficial topic of little import for our understanding of the ancient world.

Starting in the 1980s, classicists generally took an increased interest in dress. The pioneering work of Larissa Bonfante in the study of Etruscan and Roman dress provided a model for Hellenists.<sup>52</sup> At the same time, the development of structuralist and semiotic approaches to the visual sources, especially vase painting, provided new insights on the meanings of dress.<sup>53</sup> More recently, the influence of cultural studies, especially gender and sexuality studies, has encouraged us to look afresh at the ancient sources. Although classicists now recognize the importance of dress for the construction of identities, few have engaged contemporary dress theory for analytical models.

## CONTEMPORARY DRESS THEORY

Over the past quarter century, the study of dress has evolved from a haphazard conglomeration of disciplines and approaches to a coherent interdisciplinary field of study.<sup>54</sup> While much of the current scholarship focuses on contemporary dress from a transnational perspective, the theoretical literature demonstrates the feasibility of dress studies in a historical context, even in the absence of living informants – or, indeed, complete garments, as is the case for ancient Greece. This section outlines the basic tenets of contemporary dress theory as they will be applied to the ancient evidence.

### *Definitions of Dress*

Early scholars on dress debated its definition, origins, and functions.<sup>55</sup> In the nineteenth century, anthropologists viewed dress within a social-evolutionary framework, in which bodily adornment distinguished human from animal, civilized from savage. Dress was thought to have evolved as a means of protection (from the elements, from evil spirits), for the sake of modesty, for attracting a mate, or simply to beautify the body. By the early twentieth century, increased interest in the collection of ethnographic data through fieldwork led

to an awareness of the cultural specificity of dress: although dress is a universal human phenomenon, its meanings are particular to each culture.<sup>56</sup>

The social and economic functions of dress were emphasized by the American economist Thorstein Veblen (1857–1929) in “The Economic Theory of Women’s Dress” (1894) and “Dress as an Expression of Pecuniary Culture” in *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899).<sup>57</sup> Profoundly influenced by Karl Marx, Veblen considered dress as economic “surplus,” unnecessary for the proper functioning of society.<sup>58</sup> Noting the fashions of his own day, he posited that the colorful and highly decorative styles of women’s dress functioned as a means of conspicuous display of wealth for the leisure class – that is, the earned wealth of working men, whose comparatively plain, sober “uniform” reflected their essential role in industrial capitalism.<sup>59</sup>

Exactly *how* dress communicates such social messages is the central question for French semiotician Roland Barthes (1915–1980) in *The Fashion System* (originally published in France as *Système de la mode* in 1967).<sup>60</sup> Barthes understood dress as a system of signs that can be decoded like language. Although his own attempt to decipher the messages of dress from the pages of French fashion magazines proved notoriously unwieldy, his profound influence on dress theory persists in the notion of dress as a means of nonverbal communication (discussed later).<sup>61</sup>

Indeed, the conception of dress as a kind of language permeated much of the literature as dress became a subject of scholarly inquiry in its own right starting in the 1970s.<sup>62</sup> In their foundational article “The Language of Personal Adornment,” Mary-Ellen Roach (later Roach-Higgins) and Joanne Eicher define dress within an anthropological framework.<sup>63</sup> For Roach and Eicher, “adornment” can serve multiple functions: as aesthetic experience; as a means of defining social role; as a statement of social worth; as an indicator of economic status; as a political symbol; as an indicator of “magio-religious condition”; as a facilitator in social rituals; as a reinforcement of belief, custom, and values; as recreation; or as a sexual symbol. In each case, “adornment” communicates information about the wearer in a particular social context.

The essential equivalence between dress and language is claimed by popular author Alison Lurie in *The Language of Clothes* (1981).<sup>64</sup> Lurie’s approach is quite literal: “if clothing is a language, it must have a vocabulary and a grammar like other languages.”<sup>65</sup> In her conception, the vocabulary of dress includes garments as well as hair styles, accessories, jewelry, makeup, and body decoration, all of which function as “words,” which themselves may be old-fashioned, foreign, slang, or even vulgar. All of these elements combine with “adjectives and adverbs” in the form of accessories and trimmings to become “sentences,” that is, statements about the self.

The appropriateness of *language* as a metaphor for *dress* was questioned by anthropologist Grant McCracken.<sup>66</sup> He notes that clothing is not “read” in a linear fashion, like language; rather, its constituent parts are comprehended simultaneously, like a work of art. Likewise, unlike language, dress cannot formulate new messages; as a “closed code,” it can only replicate and reinforce already established meanings. On the other hand, dress can communicate certain messages language cannot, especially those requiring constant “semiotic repetition rather than innovation” including cultural constructions such as gender, for example:

In short, clothing is a conservative code. Culture can therefore trust to this kind of material culture messages that language might abuse. It can encode in clothing and material culture information it wishes to make public but does not wish to see transformed.<sup>67</sup>

Because the messages of dress are less conspicuous than those carried by language, dress has tremendous value as a means of propaganda, or “to carry meanings that could not be put more explicitly without the danger of controversy, protest or refusal.”<sup>68</sup> In rejecting the metaphor of dress as a language, McCracken’s study underscores the important cultural dimensions of dress that are the basis for most contemporary scholarship.

Current dress theory is very much indebted to the pivotal research of Eicher and Roach-Higgins, in particular a series of publications in the early 1990s that have profoundly influenced the course of scholarship on dress.<sup>69</sup> Eicher and Roach-Higgins offer a new definition of dress as “an assemblage of modifications of the body and/or supplements to the body”;<sup>70</sup> more specifically: “the dressed person is a *gestalt* that includes body, all direct modifications to the body itself, and all three-dimensional supplements added to it.”<sup>71</sup> Although *dress* is often used by scholars interchangeably with other terms such as *appearance*, *adornment*, *ornament*, *clothing*, *apparel*, *costume*, and *fashion*, Roach-Higgins and Eicher argue that these labels are inaccurate.<sup>72</sup> *Appearance*, for example, privileges the visual aspects of dress, which in fact engages all the senses. Both *ornament* and *adornment* impose value judgments regarding the aesthetics of dress. The terms *clothing* and *apparel* generally exclude modifications to the body. *Costume* suggests something other than “everyday” dress, and more properly refers to dress worn in theatrical or ceremonial contexts. Finally, *fashion* is both imprecise, since it also applies to other aspects of culture such as cars or intellectual theories, and overly specific, since it does not include “unfashionable” dress such as that worn by some religious groups, for example.<sup>73</sup> According to Roach-Higgins and Eicher, the term *dress* is “unambiguous, free of personal or social valuing or bias, and usable in descriptions across national and cultural boundaries, and inclusive of all phenomena that can accurately be designated as dress.”<sup>74</sup>

TABLE I. I. *Classification system for types of dress and their properties (Roach-Higgins and Eicher)*

Types of Dress	Color	Volume/Proportion	Shape/Structure	Surface design	Texture	Odors/Scents	Sound	Taste
<i>Body Modifications</i>								
Transformations of								
Hair								
Skin								
Nails								
Musculoskeletal system								
Teeth								
Breath								
<i>Body supplements</i>								
Enclosures:								
Wrapped								
Suspended								
Preshaped								
Combination-type								
Attachments to body:								
Inserted								
Clipped or Pressure fastened								
Adhered								
Attachments to body enclosures:								
Inserted								
Clipped or Pressure fastened								
Adhered								
Handheld objects:								
By self								
By other								

### *Analyzing Dress*

The other major contribution of Roach-Higgins and Eicher is their “classification system for types of dress and their properties” (Table 1.1).<sup>75</sup> The classification system is intended to provide scholars an unbiased framework for describing individual types of dress, including both body modifications and body supplements. Modifications to the body include transformations of the hair, skin, nails, musculoskeletal system, teeth, and breath. Supplements to the body include bodily enclosures, which may be wrapped, suspended, pre-shaped, or a combination; attachments to the body or to body enclosures, which may be inserted, clipped, or adhered; and handheld objects, which may be held by the dressed individual or someone else. Both body modifications and body supplements can be further classified according to locus on the body, whether general (e.g., head, arms, legs) or more specific (e.g., lips, ears, hands, feet). Individual types of dress can also be described according to their properties, which may include color, volume and proportion, shape and structure, surface design, texture, odor, sound, or taste.

The two axes of the classification system reflect the authors’ fundamental conception of dress. On the one hand, the body is central: absent the body, one is simply left with disembodied garments or cosmetic pots, for example, which are not dress in and of themselves.<sup>76</sup> On the other hand, dress engages all the senses: not only vision and touch, which may seem obvious, but smell (in the form of perfume or body odor, for example), sound (the rustle of petticoats, the clack of stiletto heels), even taste (especially as a result of oral hygiene).<sup>77</sup> What might be called a phenomenological approach to the dressed body is now general practice within the field of dress studies and serves as the basis for the current study.

### DRESS AS A MEANS OF NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION

Although dress is no longer considered a type of language, the notion of dress as a means of nonverbal communication remains central to contemporary dress theory. Much of the current scholarship builds on early sociological studies of the functions of dress in human social interaction, in particular the work of Gregory P. Stone and Erving Goffman. Stone was among the first to apply symbolic interaction theory to what he called “appearance,” arguing that

The meaning of appearance ... is the establishment of identity, value, mood, and attitude.... One’s identity is established when others *place* him as a social object by assigning him the same words for identity that he appropriates for himself or *announces*.<sup>78</sup>

A police officer's uniform, for example, announces his or her professional identity and is understood as such by others. Goffman agrees that identity, especially gender identity, is constructed in the context of social rituals but emphasizes the dialectical relationship between individual display and the social expectations of the group: the appearance of the individual communicates his or her social identity, mood, intent, expectations, and relationship to the perceiver; and such "advertisements" are intended to elicit a response.<sup>79</sup> For both Stone and Goffman, the messages communicated by dress are learned by means of socialization and social emulation; hence, they are readily and easily passed on to others within the social group.<sup>80</sup>

But *how*, exactly, does dress communicate these messages? Although dress is not a language, it does function as a semiotic system – not in the strict sense as proposed by Barthes in his *Fashion System*, but in the more flexible application employed in current cultural studies.<sup>81</sup> Within a given dress code, signs (namely, the *types* and their *properties*, as identified by Roach-Higgins and Eicher) are imbued with particular meanings when juxtaposed with other signs (or types of dress). Each sign comprises a signifier, that is, its physical form, and what is signified, that is, the mental concept or associations behind it. The relationship between the signifier and the signified is both arbitrary and culturally determined. The meaning of the sign generated by the combination of the signifier and the signified shifts through time and according to context. Finally, the signs of dress are often polysemic and may be read differently by different viewers.<sup>82</sup> According to Nathan Joseph, dress is made up of a series of *layers of signs* that are more or less perceptible by others:

Multiple layers of clothing enable varying levels of communication, each transmitting to a potentially different audience and perhaps presenting a different image of one's self. With the outermost layer, we are addressing a general audience or public. Successive layers are directed to more intimate groups until, finally, we are interacting primarily, but not solely, with ourselves or, more precisely, the view of ourselves derived from society.<sup>83</sup>

The notion that dress functions as a series of layers of signs is fundamental to the present study, as is reflected in its organization.

### *Style*

The meanings of dress in historical perspective have been explored by both art historians and archaeologists under the rubric of *style*. While *style* has been variously defined, in terms of dress it may be understood as the range of variations of types of dress and their properties within a given coding community. Art historical analysis generally privileges visual representations of dress, especially in painting, though the material evidence may be consulted when

it survives. Conversely, archaeological studies of dress styles are based on the material remains, with visual representations of dressed individuals often serving as a kind of check for the reconstruction of the comparatively fragmentary evidence.

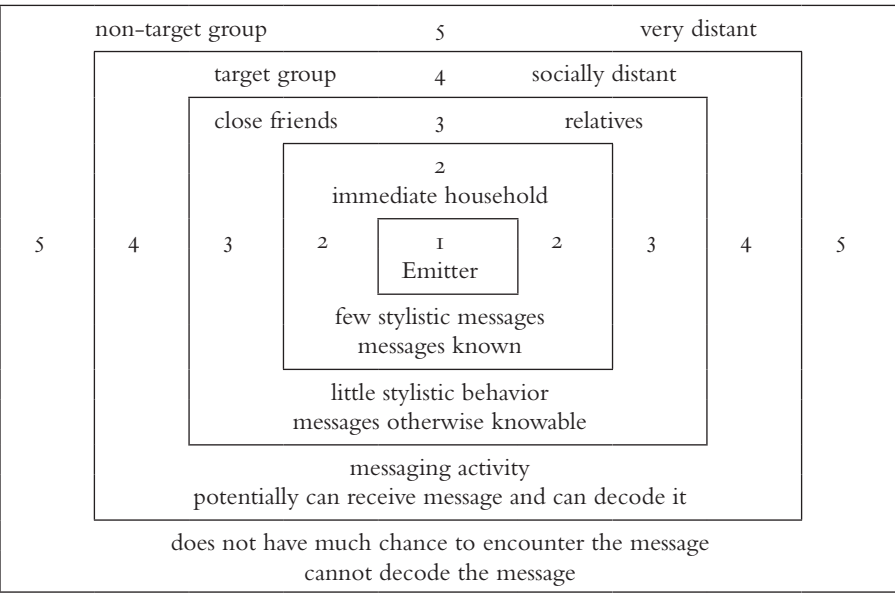
Representations of dress in Western art, especially painting, have long served as a means of attribution and dating. While certain aspects of dress were understood to have iconographic meaning within a given work of art (e.g., the Virgin Mary wears a white dress to symbolize her purity), art historians did not analyze dress within a larger historical framework until the advent of the “new” art history in the later twentieth century.<sup>84</sup> Anne Hollander’s *Seeing through Clothes*, a popular study of dress in Western art from ancient Greek sculpture to modern photography, emphasizes the particular value of artistic representations of dress compared to actual garments, which “offer only technical evidence and not perceptual knowledge.”<sup>85</sup> Still, art historical scholarship on dress was not generally accepted within the field until recently, with the result that much important work was published in journals devoted to costume, or other allied disciplines such as cultural anthropology.<sup>86</sup>

In the last two decades, the work of Aileen Ribeiro has generated serious interest in dress among art historians – and in art among dress historians. While her research focuses primarily on European painting since the Renaissance (especially in England and France in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), her approach offers an excellent model for scholars of all cultures and periods. Analysis of dress in art must not take place in isolation, but the visual sources must be considered alongside whatever other evidence is available, whether surviving garments or documentary sources such as inventories, within a cogent theoretical framework.<sup>87</sup> Still, Ribeiro argues, the artistic representations of dress must remain central:

The visual arts are the reflection of human history, and carry far more complex intellectual baggage than the actual garments themselves, or the documentary evidence of accounts, invoices and laundry lists. In a work of art, more of the whole picture of clothed humanity is literally revealed; we can see details of the clothes themselves, how they “work” on the body, and what they signify with regard not just to sex, age and class, but to status and cultural aspirations.<sup>88</sup>

The social meanings ascribed to stylistic variations in dress have also been analyzed by archaeologists. Although style has always served as a means of identifying and organizing artifacts chronologically and typologically, with the advent of the “new” archaeology in the 1970s, archaeologists began to interpret their data from more of an anthropological perspective. Martin Wobst’s fundamental article argues that style should be understood “as a strategy of information exchange.”<sup>89</sup> Stylistic variations in material culture

TABLE 1.2. *The target groups of stylistic messages (Wobst, “Stylistic Behavior and Information Exchange,” fig. 1)*



represent nonverbal messages that may be received through vision, hearing, smell, taste, or touch.<sup>90</sup> The emitter of such stylistic behavior has in mind a target group for which the messages are intended (see Table 1.2). Those who are socially close to the emitter, members of the immediate household, relatives, and close friends, already know information about the emitter, and stylistic messages are generally not intended for them. Very distant receivers will have few opportunities to encounter such messages and thus will be unable to decode them. The target group is in between: members of this group are socially distant from the emitter, but close enough to receive stylistic messages and be able to decode them. In complex societies, the number of individuals in the target group is quite large; stylistic messages serve to establish identity before any verbal contact has taken place, making social interaction more predictable and less stressful.<sup>91</sup> Wobst tests his hypothesis of archaeological style with an ethnographic study of men’s folk dress in the former Yugoslavia. Analyzing the visibility of individual articles of dress from different distances, Wobst determines that the headdress was the most important for emitting social messages, followed by the coat; shirts, jackets, and pants were less visible, and therefore less important, while accessories such as shoes and belts were least significant.<sup>92</sup>

Wobst’s approach to archaeological style has been criticized for its limited conception of the role of the individual in information exchange.<sup>93</sup> While



he assumes that stylistic messages are consciously intended by the emitter, much information is also passively communicated. At the same time, Wobst's model "does not allow for symbols to act back upon society within an ideological framework";<sup>94</sup> that is, he does not consider the effects of style on the emitter himself or herself. Finally, and most important for the present study, Wobst considers dress only as a test case for understanding stylistic variation generally, not as a significant social behavior that can be recovered archaeologically.

More recently, archaeologists have begun to consider the social meanings of dress practices as they can be reconstructed from the material remains. For Michael Brian Schiffer, the performative aspect of dress is central to his analysis of the roles of artifacts in interpersonal communication.<sup>95</sup> Although visual performance, or "appearance," is of primary importance, Schiffer considers the "acoustic," "tactile," and "chemical" aspects of dress as well.<sup>96</sup> Of particular interest for the present study is his emphasis on the "properties of the human body" relative to dress.<sup>97</sup> Indeed, Schiffer identifies people as "macroartifacts" whose performance of specific activities in particular contexts communicates social information.<sup>98</sup>

Archaeological case studies of dress tend to focus on one class of artifacts (i.e., garment fasteners, toilet articles) rather than the appearance of the dressed individual as a whole, which is often difficult to reconstruct with the surviving evidence. With the increased scholarly attention to the body over the past two decades, archaeologists have considered dress as a means of identifying the individual in the archaeological record.<sup>99</sup> But the social meanings attached to dress are not recoverable from analysis of the individual in isolation; as a means of nonverbal communication, dress is only meaningful within a given coding community. The most theoretically sophisticated studies have considered dress in the construction of both individual and group identity. In particular, the scholarship of Marie Louise Stig Sørensen has emphasized the central importance of dress in the construction of identity, especially gender identities.<sup>100</sup>

## THE MESSAGES OF DRESS

What kinds of messages does dress communicate? If dress is the means by which an individual constructs his or her identity, and the means by which society construes the individual, then dress must communicate the multiple social categories that make up that identity.<sup>101</sup> While the construction of these categories is culturally specific, most societies distinguish individuals on the basis of *gender*, *age*, *status*, *ethnicity*, and *social role*, which often overlap in significant ways.<sup>102</sup>

### *Gender*

Gender has received the most attention from dress theorists, since the construction of gender is of central importance in most societies.<sup>103</sup> Much of the early scholarship focused specifically on feminine dress, in part because women have traditionally been identified with dress, especially in Western societies in which they have been the primary producers and consumers of dress. At the same time, the feminist movement of the 1970s motivated much social and anthropological research during this period, when many feminist scholars focused on women in an attempt to redress the omissions of their male predecessors.<sup>104</sup> In an important early study, Mary Ellen Roach undertook a kind of Veblenian analysis of women's dress in the context of women's changing roles in nineteenth- and twentieth-century America.<sup>105</sup>

A more sophisticated approach is put forth by Eicher and Roach-Higgins in the application of their classification system to the study of gendered dress.<sup>106</sup> They note that although dress engages all the senses, the visual aspects of dress are most important for the construction of gender since they are more easily perceptible from a distance. Dress can therefore help to establish one's gender identity prior to any verbal communication, facilitating social interaction. They also note the unique capacity of dress to communicate complex messages, including information about gender, that are not easily translatable into words. The gendered messages of dress are learned from infancy by means of socialization. Eicher and Roach-Higgins note that even before individuals can dress themselves, they are provided with gendered dress (a pink bow; a blue cap) by their caregivers, thus creating a set of normative social expectations surrounding gender.

This is not to say that individuals always conform to the prescribed gendered connotations of dress. Indeed, dress provides an important means by which individuals may contest constructions of gender, especially the binary categories of masculine and feminine that have characterized most Western societies. Judith Butler's conception of gender as performance underscores the importance of dress for the construction of gendered identities.<sup>107</sup> Interestingly, recent scholarship on cross-dressing and transvestism demonstrates that rather than challenging the gendered messages of dress, individuals wearing dress of the "opposite" gender often strictly conform to the prescriptions for feminine or masculine dress.<sup>108</sup>

### *Age*

Until recently, constructions of age by means of dress have been studied primarily within the context of ritual, especially rites of passage.<sup>109</sup> Certainly biological

age is an important component of the *quinceañera*, or the cotillion, for example. But many coming-of-age rituals are particularly concerned with social constructions of gender and especially sexual status rather than age in and of itself. Perhaps not surprisingly, given their roles in reproduction, girls and women are often most subject to prescriptions of dress relative to their age.<sup>110</sup>

Increased sociological interest in cultural constructions of age has produced some interesting observations on the functions of dress in childhood, adolescence, and old age. The classic study “On the Disappearance of Knickers” illustrates how variations in trouser length corresponded to dramatic changes in the social expectations of boys in American society in the early twentieth century.<sup>111</sup> With the “invention” of the teenager in the 1950s, adolescents were distinguished from both children and adults by means of distinctive dress, while the recent formulation of the “tween” has spawned an entire industry catering to the sartorial needs of ten- to twelve-year-old girls.<sup>112</sup>

The dress of older adults has received little scholarly attention until recently. As a result of modern medicine, both life expectancy and general health have increased, bringing profound social changes. Older adults are generally more active, and for longer periods, than in previous generations. Women generally outlive men, and given the essential role of dress in the construction of femininity, the dress of senior women has been most subject to scrutiny. While much of the scholarship on aging has focused on women’s negotiation of “age-appropriate” dress and the marketing of “anti-aging” products in a culture that values youth, the emergence of Red Hat Societies across the United States in the late twentieth century demonstrates how some senior women use unconventional dress to escape the stigma and social marginalization that often accompany old age.<sup>113</sup>

### *Status*

Much of the scholarship on status has focused on occupational dress. Uniforms are specifically designed to communicate rank within professional organizations. Military uniforms are an obvious example, but uniforms are used by a wide range of employers, as well as educational and religious institutions, as a means of marking membership and maintaining control within the group. While uniforms easily identify members of a group to outsiders, distinctions of status are often understood only by those within the organization.<sup>114</sup>

Status is also conveyed through less formal “quasi uniforms,” such as the business suit, for example. The messages communicated by corporate dress can be subtle, resting in the quality of the cloth or fit of the garments – even their condition, whether rumpled or crisply pressed. While the business suit was originally designed to showcase the body of the ideal male worker

in corporate America,<sup>115</sup> the influx of women into the workplace in the 1980s prompted a reevaluation of corporate dress to reflect changing gender roles.<sup>116</sup>

Nonconformity in dress is likewise a marker of status, albeit outsider status. Ironically, while subcultural styles such as hippie, punk, and Goth reject mainstream society, they demand their own conformity in dress in order to maintain group identity.<sup>117</sup>

### *Ethnicity*

Ethnicity is perhaps the most complex category in the construction of identity. Ethnic identity is often bound with other social categories, especially gender and religion. Compared to other social categories, it is especially fluid across time and space. Although dress has long been recognized as a marker of ethnic identity, the means by which dress constructs ethnicity has recently become an especially vital area of inquiry for dress theorists.<sup>118</sup>

Especially relevant for the current study is the rapidly expanding scholarship on Muslim *hijab* and veiling practices in particular.<sup>119</sup> While scholars have long recognized the formal similarities between ancient Greek dress and the draped garments worn in many Islamic communities, more recent scholarship recognizes the diversity of styles and conventions surrounding concealment and exposure of the body, especially the female body. The broad range of veiling traditions today reminds us that ancient veiling practices were likewise specific to each community.

### *Social Role*

A basic tenet of contemporary dress theory is that the meanings of dress are contextual. Dress is not a static bodily practice but changes depending on social context and social role. Certainly occupational dress, especially the uniform, is intended to identify the wearer according to social role in an obvious and unambiguous way. But even the uniform, which conveys a rather limited set of social messages, will be read differently depending on context – the workplace or a place of leisure, for example.

Individuals continuously (and often unconsciously) adapt their dress according to changing social roles. While dress has often been analyzed as a static collection of garments and accessories, the manipulation of such articles by the wearer conveys important social information that is understood (again, often unconsciously) by others in the same social context, thus facilitating social interaction. Dress is a powerful social phenomenon: to understand dress is to understand the symbolic and ideological structure of a given community.

## THE BODY AND DRESS

While it may seem obvious that the dressed individual is or has a body, most of the scholarship on dress fails to take into account the dynamic relationship between dress and the body. The work of Joanne Entwistle “attempts to bridge the gap that exists between theories of the body, which often overlook dress and theories of fashion and dress, which too frequently leave out the body.”<sup>120</sup> Entwistle argues that dress must be understood as “an embodied practice, a *situated bodily practice* [her emphasis] which is embedded within the social world and fundamental to micro social order.”<sup>121</sup> But individuals are not simply passive objects in society; rather, they actively engage in the production of society through the routine practices of dress.<sup>122</sup>

Because “dress lies at the margins of the body and marks the boundary between self and other, individual and society,” dress is essential to the construction of individual identity.<sup>123</sup> While most theoreticians have emphasized the means by which dress communicates social information to others within a given community, Entwistle recognizes the important messages understood by the wearer himself or herself. Indeed, it may be argued that dress is the means by which the body becomes a self.

*Toward a Phenomenology of Dress*

Central to Entwistle’s approach is the phenomenology of Maurice Merleau-Ponty.<sup>124</sup> According to Merleau-Ponty, the body is not a passive object but the means by which we perceive the world around us. Our experience of our bodies in time and space gives us our sense of self. As an “embodied practice,” dress is essential to our perception of the world; our experience of dress determines our sense of self and place in society. An obvious example is the Victorian corset, which impeded bodily movement – a constant reminder to the wearer of her restricted role in society.

The temporal and spatial aspects of phenomenology are especially important for dress: we dress with an “implicit understanding of the rules and norms of particular social spaces.”<sup>125</sup> For example, a bathing suit is appropriate at the beach, but not in the boardroom. This is not to say that individuals always conform to societal expectations of dress; as noted earlier, the absence of conformity is meaningful in itself. The social meanings of dress are not static but determined by context.

The goal of this study is to reconstruct the experience of the dressed body in ancient Greece – or, rather, the experiences of individual bodies as they can be imagined given the parameters of the surviving evidence. Such a phenomenological approach, while dependent on conventional studies of dress

styles and practices, aims to resituate the discourse on the lived experiences of dressed individuals. While contemporary dress theory often assumes a living community, it can be fruitfully applied to the ancient evidence, providing new insights. It will be seen that the study of dress, a deceptively mundane social practice, can illuminate important aspects of Greek society that are otherwise unattainable.

## BODIES IN ANCIENT GREECE

As argued in [Chapter 1](#), the body is essential to dress. Ancient Greek dress practices were contingent on Greek conceptions of the body, which were quite different from our own.<sup>1</sup> While mythology provided various narratives for the origins of human bodies, male and female, Greek philosophers and physicians put forth their own explanations. It is unclear to what degree ancient writings on the body reflect the understanding of average men and women, given that the majority by far was illiterate. But the information gleaned from the texts can be compared with both visual imagery and archaeological evidence to give a rich picture of various bodies in ancient Greece.

While binary dualism is inherent in Greek thought, I have attempted to show the slipperiness of the categories of male and female, ideal and non-ideal. The elite adult male was certainly the ideal; elderly men fell into the opposite category along with servants, slaves, barbarians, and the disabled of both sexes, as well as female sex workers. Proper women were “indeterminate”: although necessary for patrilineal descent, they were nevertheless understood as antithetical to the ideal elite male. As will be seen throughout this book, dress was an essential means of constructing, maintaining, and negotiating these categories. Since dress practices are learned by means of socialization, I have emphasized the distinct social categories experienced by both boys and girls as they matured into adults. Finally, I consider how modern theoretical perspectives on the body can help us to understand bodies in antiquity. Throughout this chapter, I have focused on the dynamic relationship between the body and dress as a foundation for the remainder of this study.

## CONCEIVING THE BODY

*The Body in Greek Mythology*

According to Hesiod, the “race of men” was the last of Five Ages of Man, fashioned by Zeus.<sup>2</sup> Hesiod does not explain the act of creation itself but identifies the current generation as a race of iron, compared with the earlier golden, silver, bronze, and “god-like” men (heroes). Apollodorus claims that the Titan Prometheus fashioned humans from water and earth, but it is unclear whether this view was held in earlier periods.<sup>3</sup> Other sources are surprisingly silent on the matter of the generation of men. Unlike the biblical *Genesis*, the Greeks seem to be unconcerned with the origins of men; they simply exist.<sup>4</sup>

In contrast, the creation of the first woman is described by Hesiod as a discrete event independent of the creation of man.<sup>5</sup> Pandora (“All-gifts”) was given to man by Zeus as a punishment for the theft of fire by Prometheus. This “beautiful evil” was fashioned out of earth and water by the divine craftsman Hephaistos, and bestowed with gifts by the various gods:

And the goddess bright-eyed Athena girded and clothed her with silvery raiment, and down from her head she spread with her hands a broi-dered veil, a wonder to see; and she, Pallas Athena, put about her head lovely garlands, flowers of new-grown herbs. Also she put upon her head a crown of gold which the very famous Limping God [Hephaistos] made himself and worked with his own hands as a favor to Zeus his father.... But when he had made the beautiful evil to be the price for the blessing, he brought her out, delighting in the finery which the bright-eyed daughter of a mighty father had given her, to the place where the other gods and men were. And wonder took hold of the deathless gods and mortal men when they saw that which was sheer guile, not to be withstood by men. For from her is the race of women and female kind: of her is the deadly race and tribe of women who live amongst mortal men. (*Theogony*, 573–592)<sup>6</sup>

Hesiod’s description of the birth of Pandora matches the painted decoration of the tondo of an early Classical white-ground *kylix* by the Tarquinia Painter in the British Museum (Figure 2.1). Pandora, labeled “Anesidora,” her alias, stands frontally like a statue, wearing a reddish-purple draped garment of the type usually identified as *peplos*. She turns toward Athena, who holds the *zone* with which she will gird the maiden. Hephaistos, standing behind her, adjusts the golden crown that was also his creation. The image gives no indication of her contradictory nature; the staid composition and elegant garment and accessories emphasize only her beauty and grace.<sup>7</sup>

Of course, Pandora is most famous for having loosed the evils of the world upon men, who previously knew no sorrow or pain.<sup>8</sup> In the present context,





2.1. White-ground kylix, Tarquinia Painter, ca. 480 BCE, British Museum D4, London. ©Trustees of the British Museum.

it is important to note that Pandora represents the progenitor of a “race of women” that is separate from that of men. Most significantly, her body is complete only when adorned with finery.<sup>9</sup>

### *The Body in Greek Philosophy and Medicine*

Greek philosophers speculated as to the mechanics of human reproduction as early as the sixth century BCE.<sup>10</sup> A primary concern was the sex of the unborn child. Parmenides of Elea believed that the sex of the fetus was determined by its position in the womb: boys on the right, girls on the left.<sup>11</sup> Anaxagoras likewise thought that boys resulted from male seed secreted from the right testicle, while girls were the result of seed from the left.<sup>12</sup> Others held that sex was determined by the temperature of the womb. According to Empedocles, a male child gestated in a hot womb, while a girl child was the product of a cold womb.<sup>13</sup> The binaries of right and left, hot and cold, male and female, good and bad reflect broad ideological structures in Greek society that are pervasive in philosophical and medical writings.<sup>14</sup>

Such ideas continue in the corpus of medical treatises attributed to the physician Hippocrates, which were compiled from multiple sources in the fifth

and fourth centuries BCE.<sup>15</sup> Issues of embryology are discussed in the treatise *On Regimen*, and more specifically in *Diseases of Women* IV, *On Generation*, and *On the Nature of the Child*.<sup>16</sup> In general, the sex of a child was thought to have been determined either by the quality of the seed itself or by the environment in which the embryo grew.<sup>17</sup> For example, the author of *On Generation* claims that both the mother and the father produce either male or female seed.<sup>18</sup> The seed can be either “strong” or “weak”: if both parents contribute “strong” seed, they will have a boy; if “weak,” a girl. If there is a combination of strong and weak seed, the sex is determined by whichever type wins out (presumably by the quantity of the seed).<sup>19</sup> Other Hippocratic writers contend that the seed itself is sex neutral, and that sex was determined by the temperature of the womb at conception: if warm, it would be a boy; if cool, a girl.<sup>20</sup>

Aristotle rejected the Hippocratic notion of female seed, arguing that the female simply provided nourishment for the male seed in the form of menstrual blood.<sup>21</sup> That men produced seed and women produced menstrual blood was determined by the relative heat of their bodies: women’s bodies were cooler, and therefore incapable of transforming blood to semen.<sup>22</sup> In reproduction, a boy baby resulted from an embryo that contained sufficient heat, while a girl baby was the result of a lack of heat; hence, Aristotle’s (in)famous formulation of the female sex as a deformed man.<sup>23</sup>

What each of these theories holds in common is the notion that each sex displays certain innate characteristics that are determined in the womb. But the sex of an individual is not absolute. Rather, sex manifests itself on a “sliding scale” and is achieved by means of personal behaviors.<sup>24</sup> For example, the author of the Hippocratic treatise *On Regimen* claims:

A child is blended of moist, warm elements, because of them he is composed and in them he grew.... A young man is composed of warm and dry elements.... Old men are cold and moist.... The males of all species are warmer and drier, and the females moister and colder, for the following reasons: originally each sex was born in such things and grows thereby, while after birth males use a more rigorous regimen so that they are well warmed and dried, but females use a regimen that is moister and less strenuous, besides purging the heat out of their bodies every month. (I.33–34)

Women’s bodies were also thought to be more porous and softer than men’s bodies.<sup>25</sup> The moist and porous nature of women’s bodies was observable in the leaking of fluids, specifically menstrual blood and breast milk.<sup>26</sup> Such fluids were thought to be a source of pollution, as were women’s bodies generally.<sup>27</sup> Clearly, males and females are distinguished from one another biologically, in the sense that men are warm and dry, while women are cool and moist. But these qualities are not a given. They are the result of appropriate care of the body by means of personal regimen.<sup>28</sup>

As has been widely discussed, the Greeks employed various metaphors for the female body to distinguish it from the male.<sup>29</sup> Many of these images are derived from agricultural practices, as a parallel to women's reproduction.<sup>30</sup> For example, women's bodies were thought of as earth, which required regular plowing by means of sexual intercourse with her husband. The female body was thereby made soft and ready to accept a man's seed for gestation in her womb.<sup>31</sup> Another common metaphor was that of a jar: a woman's womb, and therefore the woman herself, was thought of as a container for the man's seed. Her nature is interior, unseen, and therefore potentially threatening.<sup>32</sup>

Physiological differences between women and men were the basis for further distinctions regarding character and intelligence, and therefore their place in society. For example, the loose, unformed nature of women's bodies was thought to reflect women's incapacity for self-mastery, thereby legitimizing their subservience to men within the polis.<sup>33</sup> In general, men were considered more rational, whereas women were thought to be prone to hysteria due to the fluctuations of their bodies.<sup>34</sup> Aristotle notoriously characterized the differences between men and women in his *History of Animals*:

In all cases, excepting those of the bear and leopard, the female is less spirited than the male....With all other animals the female is softer in disposition, is more mischievous, less simple, more impulsive, and more attentive to the nurture of the young; the male, on the other hand, is more spirited, more savage, more simple and less cunning. The traces of these characters are more or less visible everywhere, but they are especially visible where character is more developed, and most of all in man.

The fact is, the nature of man is the most rounded off and complete, and consequently in man the qualities above referred to are found most clearly. Hence woman is more compassionate than man, more easily moved to tears, at the same time is more jealous, more querulous, more apt to scold and to strike. She is, furthermore, more prone to despondency and less hopeful than the man, more void of shame, more false of speech, more deceptive, and of more retentive memory. She is also more wakeful, more shrinking, more difficult to rouse to action and requires a smaller quantity of nutriment. (608<sup>a</sup>32–<sup>b</sup>14)<sup>35</sup>

Although the writings of Aristotle are commonly cited as examples of extreme misogyny, they reflect a pervasive ideology of gender in early Greek society. Men were the norm; women were the Other.<sup>36</sup> The ideal was masculine: hence, the male body was the ideal body.

#### IDEAL BODIES

The free, adult male was the ideal against which all others were measured in Greek society.<sup>37</sup> They were the *kaloï kagathoi*, the beautiful and the good.<sup>38</sup> Although status was in part ascribed by birth, it was also achieved by means

of performance.<sup>39</sup> As in every culture, the behaviors of gender and status were learned by means of socialization.<sup>40</sup> In order to uncover the means by which the masculine ideal was constructed, it is necessary to trace the development of the Greek male from infancy to adulthood.

### Boys

Although male children are not themselves the ideal in Greek culture, they occupy a unique position in that they will potentially become the ideal. Hence, they were thought to display some characteristics of adult men, while maintaining certain distinctions of youth.<sup>41</sup> That boys were particularly valued in Greek culture is underscored by the fact that they were less frequently exposed as infants, enjoyed a better diet than girls, and received a formal education.<sup>42</sup>

Both Plato and Aristotle distinguish five age-grades: babies, including infants and toddlers; young preschoolers, up to age five; older preschoolers, as old as seven; schoolchildren, until puberty at around age fourteen, and adolescents, who became *ephebes* at age eighteen.<sup>43</sup> Transitions between the more significant life stages was marked by ritual.<sup>44</sup> At Athens, children were accepted into the household by the father during a celebration known as the *Amphidromia* (“running around”) on their fifth day of life, and were named on the tenth.<sup>45</sup> Boys would have been introduced to their father’s *genos* (extended family) as babies, and to the *phratry* (a hereditary social group) as a young child during the *Apatouria*, and again at age fourteen at the *Koureion*, at which a lock of hair was dedicated.<sup>46</sup> The *Anthesteria* (“flower festival”), an Athenian festival to Dionysos at which boys of age three took their first sip of wine, would mark their transition to the world of men and hence their introduction to the civic community.<sup>47</sup>

Children are clearly distinguished by age-grades in Greek art, especially on Greek vases and in votive and funerary reliefs of the Classical period.<sup>48</sup> An exceptional grave stele from Ikaria depicts a seated woman (presumably the deceased) with four boys and an infant girl ranging in age from one to sixteen (Figure 2.2). The crawling infant is easily distinguished as a boy: he is nude with the genitals clearly displayed (see also Figures 2.3, 4.23).<sup>49</sup> Of the Attic *choes*, ritual vessels used during the Anthesteria, the vast majority depicts male infants and young boys.<sup>50</sup> Boy babies are invariably chubby, reflecting the actual physiognomy of healthy infants, but also the fact that they are well fed. They are also generally active, crawling or playing with pet animals, toys, and carts.

Slightly older boys, perhaps toddlers of ages two or three, are indicated by their short stature, upright posture, and protruding abdomen, following the natural physiognomy of young children.<sup>51</sup> These boys are frequently nude, exhibiting the genitals like infants. On the Ikaria relief, the nude small boy





2.2. Marble grave stele depicting mother with children and brothers, signed by the Parian sculptor Parion, ca. 460 BCE, Archaeological Museum of Agios Kirikos 134, Ikaria.

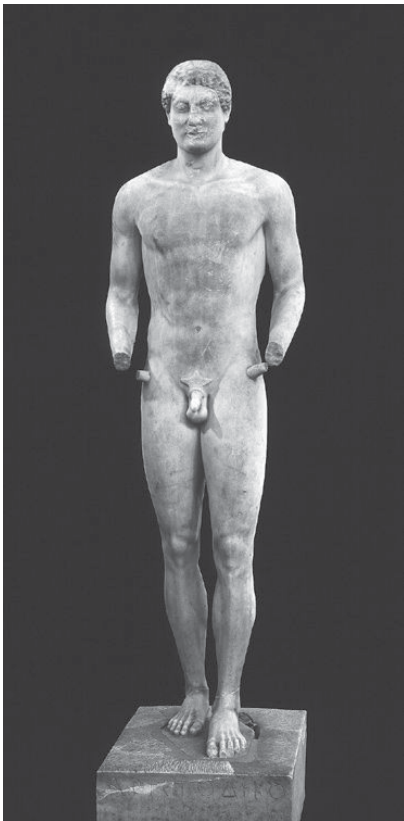


2.3. Red-figure *chous*, ca. 420 BCE, Agora Excavations P21227, Athens. ©The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

standing with his hands on his mother's knees is somewhat older, perhaps nine or ten.<sup>52</sup> Older boys are generally clothed, their bodies often completely enveloped in cloth, though sometimes the *himation* is draped over the left shoulder like an adult man (e.g., Figures 3.11a, 6.9).<sup>53</sup> On the other hand, boy attendants in the *gymnasion* (e.g., Figure 3.1) and at the *symposion* are usually nude, perhaps as a reflection of their servile status, or to indicate their sexual availability. Older boys are distinguished by their greater height and taut physique, as well as their reserved demeanor compared to the playful younger boys. Adolescents on the verge of adulthood display adult physiognomy, but are beardless or showing a faint growth of "peach-fuzz" (e.g., Figure 3.11a).<sup>54</sup>

### *Ephebes*

The category of *ephebes* changed over time and according to place.<sup>55</sup> At Athens, the term referred generally to boys who had reached puberty. But starting in



the fourth century, *ephebes* were specifically young men who entered the military for two years of compulsory service: one year of "basic training," and one year of patrolling the borders of Attica.<sup>56</sup> As young adults, *ephebes* are indistinguishable from older men in Greek art in terms of their physiognomy, though they are beardless.<sup>57</sup> In Attic vase painting, *ephebes* are identified specifically by their dress (*chlamys*, *petasos* or *pilos*, and spears), which invariably displays the body.<sup>58</sup> The ideal youthful body is best exemplified by the Archaic *kouroi*, which embody the ideals of the *kaloi kagathoi*.<sup>59</sup> The *kouros* called Aristodikos (Figure 2.4), dating to the end of the series, displays the proper proportions of an adult male and well-defined musculature, reflecting physical fitness and vitality.<sup>60</sup> The pose and gesture likewise suggest vigor: standing upright, one foot advanced, both arms engaged.<sup>61</sup> The calm facial expression reflects the masculine ideal of *sophrosyne* (self-control).<sup>62</sup>

### *Adult Citizens*

2.4. "Aristodikos" *kouros*, from Mesogeia, Attica, ca. 510–500 BCE, National Archaeological Museum 3938, Athens. ©Gianni Dagli Orti/The Art Archive at Art Resource, NY.

The adult citizen body was the ideal in ancient Greece.<sup>63</sup> This body was not a biological given but was achieved by means of careful regimen of diet and exercise (see Chapter 3, *Diaita*). The perfect

body was not only the concern of the individual; it was within the purview of the entire community. Multiple ancient authors describe the ideal body, which is likewise pervasive in Greek art.

In Aristophanes' *Clouds*, the personification of Better Argument tries to win over the young Pheidippides to the traditional mode of physical education:

If you follow my recommendations, and keep them ever in mind, you will always have a rippling chest, radiant skin, broad shoulders, a wee tongue, a grand rump and a petite dick. But if you adopt current practices, you'll start by having a puny chest, pasty skin, narrow shoulders, a grand tongue, a wee rump and a lengthy edict. (1009–1019)

This passage concisely outlines the physical characteristics of the ideal citizen, but it also underscores the necessity of proper care of the body in order to achieve the ideal.<sup>64</sup>

The ideal male body is represented in every medium from the earliest periods of Greek figurative art. The artistic convention of masculine nudity places special emphasis on the male physique and may have been a source of anxiety for some men.<sup>65</sup> Kenneth Dover identified the following characteristics of the ideal male body in vase painting through the middle of the fifth century: broad shoulders, a deep chest, large pectoral muscles, protruding muscles above the hips (iliac crest), a slim waist, jutting buttocks, stout thighs and calves, and a small penis.<sup>66</sup> The same conventions are discernible in sculpture, with the famed *Doryphoros* (Spear-bearer) of Polykleitos serving as the prime exemplum in the Classical period (Figure 2.5).<sup>67</sup> As the physical embodiment of a theoretical canon of proportions, this statue represents an impossible ideal. On the other hand, it is clear that the *Doryphoros* reflects reality in the sense that such a physique would have been possible only theoretically by means of proper diet and exercise.

The masculine ideal portrayed in sculpture and painting changed somewhat over time but always remained the norm.<sup>68</sup> The normative masculine body is vividly portrayed in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomics*, dating to the third century BCE, a kind of handbook for judging the character of an individual by means of bodily signs.<sup>69</sup> In this anonymous text, the ideal physique is defined by “an upright carriage of the body; size and strength of bones, sides and extremities; the belly broad and flat; shoulder-blades broad and set well apart, neither too closely nor too loosely knit; a sturdy neck, not very fleshy; a chest well covered with flesh and broad; flat hips; the thickness of the calf low down the leg” (807a1). The ideal male body is understood in opposition to the bodies of animals, women, and barbarians.<sup>70</sup> For example, the ideal Greek male is brave like a lion (but not other animals, 809b1), with a well-proportioned body (unlike that of a female, 814a1), and good coloring (not too dark like Egyptians and Ethiopians; not too white like women: 812a1). As Maria Sassi has noted,



2.5. *Doryphoros* (Spear-bearer), Polykleitos, Roman copy of Greek original of ca. 450 BCE, Minneapolis Institute of Art 86.6, Minneapolis. ©Bridgeman Art Library International.

“the ideal of the mean, of which animals, women, and barbarians fall so far short, finds positive embodiment in the image of the free Greek male, which occupies the center of the system of self-perception.”<sup>71</sup>

#### INDETERMINATE BODIES

Given the primacy of the male body in Greek ideology, others' bodies might seem relatively inaccessible to us. In fact, the opposite is true: because the male body was defined in opposition to the bodies of others, especially women and barbarians, the evidence for non-ideal bodies is extensive. Among the various non-ideal types, women's bodies are somewhat indeterminate: women's bodies were necessary for reproduction and for domestic labor; hence they were a “necessary evil” in Greek society.<sup>72</sup> In order to make women's bodies useful to men, women and girls needed to be brought under social control by means of prescribed behaviors, especially dress practices.



### Girls

Girls did not enjoy the same privileges as boys in early Greece.<sup>73</sup> As discussed, girls were more frequently exposed as infants, did not receive the same quality diet, and were not educated outside the home.<sup>74</sup> Unlike boys, who were essential to the maintenance of family lineage, girls would leave the natal family at marriage. Hence, fewer resources were generally expended on them, and fewer records survive for girls than for boys.<sup>75</sup> We learn about the lives of girls only incidentally in the literary sources.

If a family chose to rear a baby girl, she likely spent most of her childhood learning domestic tasks from her mother.<sup>76</sup> Xenophon tells us in the *Oeconomicus* that girls learn weaving and self-control from their mothers; upon marriage, the young aristocratic wife knows nothing but how to weave and direct servants to spin thread:

What could she have known when I took her as my wife, Socrates? She was not yet fifteen when she came to me, and had spent her previous years under careful supervision so that she might see and hear and speak as little as possible. Don't you think it was adequate if she came to me knowing only how to take wool and produce a cloak, and had seen how spinning tasks are allocated to the slaves? And besides, she had been very well trained to control her appetites, Socrates ... and I think that sort of training is most important for man and woman alike. (7.5–6)<sup>77</sup>

Lysias also praises a new wife for her skills in household management (*Defense of Eratosthanes*, 1.7). Such a sheltered upbringing would have afforded few opportunities for girls outside the household, save religious events.<sup>78</sup>

It is possible that girls as well as boys were introduced to their fathers' *phratries* as babies.<sup>79</sup> Whether girls might have participated in the Anthesteria is not clear. Girls are not specifically mentioned in the literary sources, and an argument has been made that the females on the *choes* are in fact adults.<sup>80</sup> A ritual known as *Aiora* ("swinging"), in which girls would swing on suspended seats, may have taken place on the third day of the Anthesteria.<sup>81</sup> Better attested are a series of rituals described by Aristophanes in the *Lysistrata*:

As soon as I turned seven I was an *Arrephoros*  
Then when I was ten I was a Grinder for the Foundress;<sup>82</sup>  
And shedding my saffron robe I was a Bear at the Brauronia  
And once, when I was a fair girl, I carried the Basket  
Wearing a necklace of dried figs. (641–647)

This passage is likely a comic exaggeration of the religious roles undertaken by girls in Classical Athens. The *arrephoroi* were chosen from among the elite families. Four (or two) girls between the ages of seven and eleven lived on the Acropolis for a year, where they played ball games and participate

in a kind of fertility ritual called the Arrephoria.<sup>83</sup> Two girls, perhaps also *arrephoroi* (or *ergastinaî*), helped weave the sacred *peplos* dedicated to Athena at the Panathenaia.<sup>84</sup> Girls ages seven to eleven “acted the she-bear” at the Arkteia, a festival to Artemis celebrated at the rural sanctuary of Brauron.<sup>85</sup> Although the literary testimonia are few, save the foundation myth for the cult, the site of Brauron has yielded extensive visual evidence for the rites (discussed below), in which girls ran naked or wearing special yellow dresses.<sup>86</sup>

Whereas baby boys are frequently represented in Greek art, baby girls are more difficult to identify.<sup>87</sup> No images of nude babies display female genitalia.<sup>88</sup> Images of swaddled infants could theoretically be male or female. On the other hand, given the pattern of masculine nudity and feminine clothedness for older individuals, it seems likely that the swaddled infants should be understood as girls. The infant on the funerary relief from Ikaria (Figure 2.2) wears a kind of dress. Likewise, the infant on a fourth-century marble votive relief to Artemis from Echinus (Figure 7.10) has been interpreted as a girl on the basis of her garment.<sup>89</sup>

Girls ages five to ten are depicted on a series of Classical *krateriskoi* recovered from the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron. The girls, interpreted as participants in the Arkteia, are carefully distinguished by age by means of physiognomy, dress, and activity (Figure 2.6).<sup>90</sup> Younger girls are shorter, with a larger head in proportion to their bodies, and display a convex torso and flat breasts; older girls are taller, with a slightly smaller head relative to their height, and “budding breasts.”<sup>91</sup> Such conventions are biologically based, corresponding to the period before menarche at approximately age fourteen.<sup>92</sup>



2.6. Red-figure *krateriskos*, ca. 430–420 BCE, L. Kahil, “L’Artémis de Brauron: Rites et mystère,” *AntK* 20 (1977), pl. 19.

### *Parthenoi*

With the onset of menstruation, a girl became a *parthenos* (virgin).<sup>93</sup> The virginal status of the *parthenos* was not specifically tied to her sexuality, but to her social role.<sup>94</sup> The *parthenos* was by definition a liminal creature: she was capable of childbearing but was yet unmarried. This life stage was fraught with anxieties surrounding the proper transition from *kore* to *gyne*: sexual intercourse must not take place before marriage; following marriage, the birth of a child was required to achieve true adult status. Given the particular concerns surrounding patrilineage, the virginal female body was arguably the most socially regulated in ancient Greece.

The special significance of the *parthenos* is evident in the literary and historical sources. As discussed earlier, the “beautiful evil” Pandora is presented to man in the form of a beautiful virgin. *Parthenoi* are central to a number of Greek myths in which a young heroine (often literally) sacrifices herself for the benefit of the larger community.<sup>95</sup> The medical writers were especially concerned with the bodies of *parthenoi*, as evidenced in the number of treatises dedicated to gynecological problems specific to unmarried women (see earlier, *The Body in Greek Philosophy and Medicine*).

*Parthenoi* played important roles in religion and ritual, which would have served as closely regulated opportunities for social display. The most important of these were the *kanephoroi* (“basket bearers”), who carried baskets containing ritual objects in processions, most notably the Panathenaia at Athens.<sup>96</sup> Images of *kanephoroi* occupy prominent spaces in the Parthenon frieze and on the Erechtheion, attesting to their central role.<sup>97</sup> Elsewhere in Greece, and especially at Sparta, *parthenoi* danced and sang in choruses for various divinities.<sup>98</sup> In preparation for marriage, *parthenoi* made offerings of childhood clothing and toys and locks of hair to Artemis and other goddesses.<sup>99</sup>

Representations of *parthenoi* in sculpture and vase painting display the desired characteristics of a marriageable young woman.<sup>100</sup> The Archaic *korai* may be understood as a feminine corollary to the masculine *kouroi*.<sup>101</sup> The *kore* Phrasikleia (Figure 5.8) depicts a beautiful young maiden who, according to the accompanying inscription, died before marriage. Unlike the nude *kouroi*, *korai* are invariably clothed; but the fine cloth delineates rather than obscures the shape of the female body underneath.<sup>102</sup> The small breasts and gently swelling hips suggest a youthful, fertile, body. Similar conventions are discernible in Classical sculpture – for example, on the so-called Giustiniani stele (Figure 4.9). The maiden’s downward gaze and restrained facial expression suggest that she has achieved both *sophrosyne* and *aidos* (shame), required qualities for proper women.<sup>103</sup> Likewise, her attention to the *pyxis*, from which she removes a piece of jewelry, is an appropriate feminine activity. Her specific identity as a *parthenos* may be bound up, so to speak, in her hairstyle and unbelted *peplos*.<sup>104</sup>

### *Gynai*

The ultimate goal of the *parthenos* was to marry and produce children, preferably boys, at which point she would become an adult *gyne*.<sup>105</sup> Women's bodies were valued primarily for their reproductive capacities, as reflected in the extensive gynecological literature. As discussed earlier, women's bodies were viewed with ambivalence: they were understood as antithetical to men's bodies, yet they were necessary for reproduction. The social roles of adult women were highly circumscribed: they were expected to bear children and maintain the household; their only public roles were ritual, for the maintenance of the larger community.

Artistic representations of women's bodies reflect this concern with social control. As with the *korai*, the bodies of *gynai* are consistently clothed, often in multiple layers of cloth.<sup>106</sup> In many cases, especially in the Classical period, the drapery serves to emphasize the reproductive capacities of the female body.<sup>107</sup> For example, in the famed Hegeso stele (Figure 4.22) the sitter wears multiple garments and head coverings, suggesting a high degree of social control over the adult female body.<sup>108</sup> Yet the v-shaped folds of the *chiton* partly articulate the full breasts, and the bunched cloth in her lap suggests the notion of fertility, even if she is not depicted as pregnant.<sup>109</sup> Her seated pose likewise reflects her ideal role as mistress of the household, overseeing the labor of her servants and slaves.<sup>110</sup> Compared with the upright stance of the male figures, the pose and gesture of the proper woman are self-contained, reflecting the ideal of feminine *sophrosyne*.

The female body was problematic for the Greeks. It was not the ideal, which was exclusively male; on the other hand, it was necessary for biological and social reproduction. Hence, it occupied an indeterminate space in the Greek ideological sphere. As such, it was both strictly regulated and prone to slippage into the non-ideal.

### NON-IDEAL BODIES

The Greek ideal was maintained largely by antithesis to the non-ideal.<sup>111</sup> Certainly, women were the primary Other within the Greek mindset. But given their essential roles in the functioning of Greek society, they were not complete outsiders. Likewise, older men and women past the prime of their youth form a somewhat ambiguous group, since they are not ideal but may have been at one time in their lives. Other social groups never achieved ideal status within Greek culture, especially *hetairai* (courtesans), household servants and slaves, barbarians, and the disabled. Non-ideal bodies are represented less frequently than ideal bodies in Greek art, but they convey important information about Greek ideologies of gender, age, class, ethnicity, and difference.<sup>112</sup>

### *Older Adults*

It is clear from both the literary and the visual evidence that youth was the ideal in Greek culture.<sup>113</sup> The value placed on youth is understandable given the emphasis on physical fitness for men and childbearing for women. In addition, life expectancy for most Greeks was quite low: forty-five for men and thirty-six for women.<sup>114</sup> Given the high mortality rate for women during childbearing, and for men during wartime, relatively few individuals reached a status equivalent to senior citizen. The threshold between youth and old age was probably somewhat fluid, since no ritual seems to have marked the transition. Women may have experienced a more profound change with the onset of menopause at around age forty, after which time they were subject to fewer sexual and social restrictions.<sup>115</sup>

Men of advanced age are generally represented in a respectful manner in Greek sculpture and vase painting, particularly in family scenes.<sup>116</sup> For example, the Classical grave stele of Xanthippos and his daughters (Figure 3.15) depicts the deceased seated on a chair, his advanced age indicated by the softness of his anatomy, thinning hair, and unkempt beard.<sup>117</sup> Likewise, the old man in the departure scene on a red-figure *stamnos* by the Kleophon painter (Figure 4.10) is identifiable by his lack of defined musculature and straggly hair and beard in added white. He leans on a walking stick, reflecting a loss of vitality, especially compared to the vigorous young warrior departing for the battlefield.<sup>118</sup> Both scenes suggest that older men retained some status as the head of the extended family.

The negative connotations of old age are clear in the red-figure *pelike* by the Geras painter depicting Herakles striking the personification of old age (Figure 3.12).<sup>119</sup> *Geras* (Old Age) is represented as an ugly, shrunken, emaciated man, bent over and supporting himself with his walking stick in one hand while supplicating Herakles with the other. His low status is emphasized by his oversized genitals, which were considered ugly and laughable.<sup>120</sup> Interestingly, this image seems to refer not to a “real” old man, but to the idea of old age in general. Fear of the indignities of old age was not necessarily matched by a true loss of status for Greek men.<sup>121</sup>

The experience of old women was different from that of old men.<sup>122</sup> As described, women past the age of menopause likely enjoyed greater freedom than during their childbearing years. At the same time, their usefulness to society was lessened, save their roles as nurses and hired mourners. Older women are rarely represented as such in Greek sculpture and vase painting, perhaps reflecting the fluidity between younger and older *gynai*.<sup>123</sup> For example, the Classical grave stele of Ampharete from the Kerameikos depicts the deceased as a young woman, though she is identified in the inscription as the grandmother of the infant she embraces on her lap.<sup>124</sup> Old women of

lower status are represented in a less flattering manner.<sup>125</sup> For example, the old nurse on the red-figure *skyphos* by the Pisto Xenos Painter (Figure 3.17) is stooped and wrinkled, with ugly features and unkempt white hair. The tattoos on her neck and arms identify her as Thracian, which compounds her negative depiction.<sup>126</sup>

### *Hetairai, Pallakai, Pornai*

The ambivalence surrounding women in ancient Greek culture is especially pronounced for female sex workers.<sup>127</sup> In the famous passage of Demosthenes' *Against Neaira*, the speaker Apollodorus identifies three types of women in Athens: "For we have courtesans (*hetairai*) for pleasure, and concubines (*pallakai*) for the daily service of our bodies, but wives (*gynaikes*) for the production of legitimate offspring and to have a reliable guardian of our household property" (122).<sup>128</sup> Courtesans and concubines are distinguished from common prostitutes (*pornai*), who sold their services on an individual basis.<sup>129</sup> Given their relatively high status, we know more about *hetairai* than other types of sex workers. Like traditional Japanese geishas (but unlike most other Athenian women), *hetairai* could be highly educated, especially in poetry and music. Many *hetairai* were foreign-born and therefore not potential marriage partners (at least after the Periclean citizenship law of 450/1 BCE). With the financial support of their patrons, such women achieved a degree of independence unknown to other Greek women.

These women are notoriously difficult to identify in the visual record. Not surprisingly, *hetairai* and other sex workers are generally not commemorated in monumental sculpture or grave stelai. Most images identified as sex workers are found on vases, especially those used in the context of the *symposion*, an aristocratic drinking party for which *hetairai* and other sex workers would have provided entertainment (and at which proper women would not have been present).<sup>130</sup> The most easily recognizable are those who are represented actually engaged in sexual intercourse with male patrons. Naked and partially clad women reclining with men on couches are probably also to be understood as sex workers. Presumably flute players and dancers, whether or not they are clothed, would also have provided sexual entertainments. But how can we identify in the visual record the varieties of sex worker named in the textual sources? Some have associated non-ideal body types with low-status prostitutes. For example, a small corpus of vases depicting apparently overweight and older women performing demeaning sexual acts have been considered representations of *pornai* as opposed to high-class *hetairai*.<sup>131</sup> Perhaps such distinctions are less important than the opposition between sex worker and proper woman.

But the dichotomy between these two categories of women is perhaps less strict than is often assumed.<sup>132</sup> Some have considered nudity an indicator for

working women in Attic vase painting. But proper women are sometimes represented nude in nuptial bathing scenes, and other scenes of female bathers do not display any overtly sexual content (though the images themselves may have been viewed as erotica).<sup>133</sup> Other dress practices, including the depilation of body- and pubic hair and the use of cosmetics, may have been shared by proper women and sex workers alike, compounding the problems of identification in the visual record.<sup>134</sup> Likewise, although sex workers are sometimes represented in the vases wearing amulets on their arms and thighs, it is quite likely that proper women also employed amulets, but these are not visible in the pictorial record.<sup>135</sup> One possible marker for low-status sex workers is cropped hair, though this is a feature of women of servile status generally.<sup>136</sup>

### *Servants and Slaves*

Individuals of servile status did not generally commission or create works of art or literature for their own purposes. In general, servants and slaves are represented in the context of elite commissions; hence, they are depicted from an elite perspective.<sup>137</sup> Literary descriptions of slaves are invariably negative, especially in comedy: they are scheming, gluttonous, not to be trusted.<sup>138</sup> Visual representations are more complex.<sup>139</sup> Conventions change over time, but servants and slaves are generally represented in opposition to the elite ideal. The most easily identifiable servants or slaves are engaged in some kind of labor, whereas the elite rarely work.<sup>140</sup> They are usually shorter than their masters and often display some other identifying physical characteristic: cropped hair, tattoos, or non-Greek physiognomy or dress.<sup>141</sup> On the other hand, some images of servants or slaves are apparently indistinguishable from elites, as on the series of white-ground *lekythoi* representing “mistresses and maids.”<sup>142</sup> Such images may suggest the possibility of manumission for some indentured workers.<sup>143</sup>

It is likewise difficult to differentiate between servants or slaves and free workers and craftsmen.<sup>144</sup> The latter are sometimes distinguishable by their rustic garments and headgear.<sup>145</sup> In addition, their poses and gestures, often determined by their work, are not those of ideal citizens. For example, on the *kylix* attributed to the Foundry Painter in Berlin (Figure 2.7), the metalworkers stoop or sit low to the ground, one reveals his genitals in an ignoble manner.<sup>146</sup>

### *Barbarians*

Most slaves were in fact foreigners. Barbarians were, by definition, those who did not speak Greek.<sup>147</sup> The Greek view of the foreign Other changed dramatically following the Persian Wars; much of the iconographic evidence dates to the fifth century. Most representations of barbarians are found on



(a)



(b)



2.7. Red-figure *kylix*, Foundry Painter, ca. 480 BCE, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen F 2294, Berlin. ©bpk, Berlin/Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Germany/Ingrid Geske/Art Resource, NY.

vases as opposed to more monumental media.<sup>148</sup> In general, foreigners are distinguished by their dress, especially hairstyles and other (often permanent) modifications to the body.<sup>149</sup> But ethnicity was sometimes indicated by means of physiognomy as well. For example, Africans are generally depicted with darker skin and fleshier facial features than Greeks.<sup>150</sup> Conversely, Thracians and Scythians are pale with light-colored or reddish hair. A common feature of representations of foreigners is that they lack the Greek ideal of *sophrosyne*. For example, the Egyptians in the red-figure *pelike* by the Pan Painter (Figure 3.18) cower in response to Herakles' attack. Their limbs are akimbo,



displaying large, uncircumcised (and hence barbaric) genitals beneath their short tunics.<sup>151</sup> The tattooed Thracian woman in a red-figure column *krater* also by the Pan Painter (Figure 3.16) runs with her hair flying wildly, revealing her breasts and legs through her open garment. Barbarian bodies are displayed in a way that would not have been appropriate for proper Greek women and men.

### *Disabled*

Considering the Greek obsession with bodily perfection, it should not surprise us that the Greeks rarely depict human deformity. The historical sources are likewise generally silent on attitudes toward the disabled, or even what exactly constituted a disability. Yet certainly the Greeks constructed disability differently than we do.<sup>152</sup> Disabilities may be congenital or the result of an illness or injury. Although it is often assumed that children born with visible abnormalities would not have been reared, the evidence is thin.<sup>153</sup> Indeed, some congenital defects such as Siamese twins, Cyclopianism, and clubfeet are represented in mythological scenes from the earliest periods of Greek art; intersexuality is likewise a common mythological motif.<sup>154</sup> Dwarfism is represented in both vase painting and sculpture, and it became especially popular in the Hellenistic period.<sup>155</sup> Some disabilities, like blindness or deafness, are difficult to depict visually, but would have had a profound effect on the perception of the individual, especially their perception of dress.

### MODERN PERSPECTIVES ON THE BODY

It should be clear that ancient Greek perceptions of human bodies diverge significantly from our own. Yet modern approaches to the body may be applied to the ancient evidence to help us further understand the body in Greek society, and especially the relationship between the body and dress. This section briefly outlines some of the primary theoretical concepts that have informed this study.<sup>156</sup>

A basic premise of this book is that the dressed body is the medium by which the individual engages with society, and vice versa. According to Mary Douglas, the body represents social order.<sup>157</sup> Its boundaries reflect social boundaries, which are strictly policed. The idea of transgression of bodily boundaries is of particular importance for the current study. For example, some practices of body modification, such as depilation, hair cutting, and nail paring, remove matter from the body, thereby transgressing the boundaries of the body. Since bodily boundaries reflect social boundaries, such practices often carry profound social implications.<sup>158</sup>

The notion of the body as a reflection of social structures is pervasive in the work of Michel Foucault. Although many classicists (and others) have criticized Foucault for his lack of attention to certain Classical texts, and for ignoring women, the idea of power relations being inscribed on the body is a useful one.<sup>159</sup> For example, we may think of the military training of *ephebes* as a process of bodily inscription.<sup>160</sup> Likewise, the central importance of the *diaita*, a daily regimen of diet, exercise, and hygiene, reflects the notion of care of the self.<sup>161</sup>

Whereas Foucault is primarily concerned with the effects of power on the passive subject, Maurice Merleau-Ponty emphasizes active embodiment.<sup>162</sup> Merleau-Ponty argues that the body is essential to our perception of the world. Because bodies are located in time and space, they reflect particular social contexts. A phenomenological approach to the dressed body is especially useful given the multiple sensory aspects of dress. Phenomenology requires that we reconstruct to the best of our abilities the bodily experience of the dressed individual.

The mechanism by which the individual engages with his or her social context is explained by Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*. Bourdieu defines *habitus* as "a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a *matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions* and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks" (original emphasis).<sup>163</sup> This formulation is especially useful because it recognizes the agency of the individual within the strictures of society. At the same time, it explains the means by which ideological constructs such as gender and class are often unconsciously reproduced by the individual.

Marcel Mauss earlier employed the term *habitus* in his explanation of techniques of the body.<sup>164</sup> Mauss notes that individuals perform mundane activities, such as walking or eating, differently depending on sex and age. These are not natural adaptations to differences in physiognomy but cultural behaviors learned by means of socialization.<sup>165</sup> Given the emphasis on distinctions of age and gender in Greek culture, this concept is especially useful for the present study.

Erving Goffman, like Bourdieu, emphasizes social context in the presentation of the self.<sup>166</sup> According to Goffman, individuals are social actors who learn how to perform their identities by means of social interaction. In any given situation, people may conform to or confound social rules and expectations. The body is the mechanism by which social communication takes place. (Goffman's body idiom corresponds to Mauss's techniques of the body.) Goffman's concept of bodily display underscores the polysemic capacities of the dressed body, and the potential for two-way communication.

The notion of identity as performance is essential to the work of Judith Butler.<sup>167</sup> Although Butler denies the essential nature of the body in the construction of identities, specifically gendered identities, she is nevertheless concerned with the presentation of the self. According to Butler, “the body becomes its gender through a series of acts which are renewed, revised, and consolidated through time.”<sup>168</sup> Butler also reminds us that gender cannot be separated from race and class.<sup>169</sup>

Although modern theorists rarely consider the body in historical perspective (save Foucault), concepts borrowed from current scholarship can illuminate the bodily experiences of the Greeks. It is only through our understanding of the body in ancient Greece that we can decipher the meanings of dress, starting with body modifications.

## BODY MODIFICATION

Modifications to the body constitute primary dress behaviors of the dressed individual. As defined by Eicher and Roach-Higgins, body modifications may be temporary or permanent and include transformations of the hair, skin, nails, musculoskeletal system, teeth, and breath.<sup>1</sup> Although we tend to think of body modification in terms of such extreme practices as tattooing, piercing, or cosmetic surgery, the mundane habits of diet, exercise, and bathing; the application of perfume and cosmetics; and the maintenance of body- and head-hair are likewise significant for the construction of identity.

The theoretical literature on body modification has expanded exponentially in recent years, reflecting increased scholarly interest in the body as well as current fashions.<sup>2</sup> Modifications to the body are essential to the negotiation of individual and group identities. Transformations of the skin, in particular, serve to mediate the dynamic relationship between the body and society.<sup>3</sup> As proposed by Mary Douglas, the boundaries of the body reflect the boundaries of society; hence, modifications to the body are strictly policed.<sup>4</sup> Although the Western tradition has conventionally perceived of the Classical body as “natural,” the Greeks engaged in body modification in many forms, reflecting fundamental ideological structures of ancient Greek society: male/female; elite/non-elite; Greek/barbarian. While the Greek elite displayed a broad range of temporary body modifications as a way of reaffirming their elite identities, non-ideal figures were often marked perpetually as such by means of permanent modifications to the body.

## TEMPORARY BODY MODIFICATIONS

*Diaita*

Ancient Greek writers are surprisingly modern in their attitudes toward the maintenance of the body through diet, exercise, and hygiene. The term *diaita* refers not just to diet but to an entire regimen of healthful behaviors that were intended to maintain the proper balance of hot and cold, wet and dry. There was no single ideal regimen; rather, *diaita* could be adapted to meet individual needs, which were determined primarily by gender, age, and social status.<sup>5</sup>

**Diet**

The traditional Mediterranean diet has been lauded in recent years for its healthfulness: low in saturated fat, high in complex carbohydrates, it has been credited with many health benefits, including reduced incidence of chronic disease and increased longevity.<sup>6</sup> The basic features of this diet are essentially unchanged since antiquity, with the addition of certain foodstuffs imported from the New World and Asia (especially tomatoes, potatoes, citrus, coffee, and rice). The ancient Greek diet was generally healthful; however, shortages of food were a common concern.<sup>7</sup>

The literary sources are filled with evidence for diet and the consumption of food.<sup>8</sup> Although Greek cookbooks have not survived as they have for the Roman period, we can glean a great deal from both poetry and prose. Old Comedy, especially Aristophanes, is filled with tantalizing details regarding various foodstuffs.<sup>9</sup> Theophrastus gives important evidence regarding the consumption of plants. Perhaps the most significant source for the reconstruction of diet is the corpus of the medical writers, especially the Hippocratics, who prescribe certain foods as part of one's *diaita*.

Archaeology provides important evidence for the production and consumption of food, in the form of extant agricultural tools, vessels used for storage and transport, cooking pots, and table- and *symposion*-wares.<sup>10</sup> Organic foodstuffs are preserved only under exceptional conditions, but the remnants of food preparation and meals, such as animal bones and shells, are common. It is also possible to reconstruct diet by means of forensic analysis of human skeletal remains: vitamin and mineral content of preserved hard tissues is recoverable by chemical and radiographic analysis, and dietary deficiencies are discernible in pathologies of bones and teeth. The archaeological sources are especially useful for understanding the actual dietary habits of individuals of all social strata, whereas the literary sources are primarily concerned with the ideal practices of the elite.<sup>11</sup>

The three primary components of the Greek diet were *sitos* (cereals), *oinos* (wine), and *opsa* (accompaniments).<sup>12</sup> Cereals made up the bulk of

the Greek diet, especially barley, which is tolerant of the variable growing conditions in Greece, and wheat, which was mostly imported. Barley was considered especially healthful and was prescribed by the Hippocratics in various preparations. Accompaniments eaten with bread included a wide range of available foods: olives, legumes and seeds, vegetables and fruits, fish, meat, and poultry, eggs, cheese, honey, salt, herbs and spices. These would be eaten according to availability and accessibility: legumes were cheap and plentiful and would have been everyday fare for most, whereas the slaughtering of large animals such as bovines was generally reserved for public sacrifices.<sup>13</sup> Wine was also generally reserved for ritual purposes, especially *symposia*, where it would have been accessible only to a select group of elite male participants.<sup>14</sup>

Diet was also determined by ideological factors, such as gender.<sup>15</sup> As discussed in [Chapter 2](#), men's bodies were thought to be dry and warm, whereas women were moist and cold; children were both moist and warm, while old men were moist and cold. The Hippocratics recommended diets intended to maintain the proper balance for the sex and age of the individual. Certain foods and methods of preparation were thought to have a warming or cooling effect, or make the body drier or wetter. Such dietary prescriptions are especially common in gynecological texts, in order to control the excess of blood in women's bodies.<sup>16</sup> If a woman is too dry, she should take baths, eat food that is boiled instead of roasted, and drink wine with water; if she is too wet, she should do the opposite (*Diseases of Women*, 1.16).<sup>17</sup> The particular concern with women's food intake reflects a general ideological control over women's bodies.<sup>18</sup>

Climate and geography were also determining factors for diet. The Hippocratics recommend that in cold weather one should eat foods that make the body warm and dry, especially wheat bread, roasted meats, and few vegetables; in warm weather, barley cakes, boiled meat, and softer foods will keep the body cool and moist. In dry, hot countries, one must eat foods appropriate to the climate.<sup>19</sup> Regional distinctions in eating habits contributed to ethnic stereotypes: the Ionians were known to indulge in luxurious foodstuffs, Thessalians and Sicilians were considered gourmands, Spartans were moderate in their intake of food and drink, whereas Boeotians were prone to gluttony.<sup>20</sup>

Overindulgence in food resulted in obesity, which is frequently satirized in comedy.<sup>21</sup> Conversely, abstinence from eating led to emaciation, which was linked with philosophers (who reject bodily needs in favor of intellectual pursuit), the elderly, and the dead.<sup>22</sup> Images of obese or excessively thin persons are rarely represented in Greek art of the Archaic and Classical periods. A few images of overweight, aging *hetairai* appear on *symposion* cups; likewise, some "heavyweight" athletes have been identified.<sup>23</sup> Geras, the personification

of Old Age, is shown as an emaciated figure on the name-vase of the Geras Painter (Figure 3.12).<sup>24</sup>

### Exercise

The importance of athletics for the Greeks cannot be overstated. The extensive literary, archaeological, and visual sources underscore the central role of athletics in ancient society.<sup>25</sup> Exercise was a critical component of individual *diaita*,<sup>26</sup> but it also served an essential social function. Athletics were performed by elite men in the public context of the *gymnasion*; hence, the *gymnasion* was a primary arena for the performance of elite masculinity.<sup>27</sup>

The activities of the *gymnasion* are mentioned in various literary and epigraphic sources, though some are unfortunately late and may not reflect Archaic and Classical practices.<sup>28</sup> Although the literary evidence suggests that built *gymnasia* existed as early as the sixth century BCE, the archaeological evidence is mostly later.<sup>29</sup> Such complexes generally include several rooms surrounding an open colonnaded courtyard (*peristyle*) for exercise, as well as bathing facilities. Other archaeological evidence includes athletic equipment such as *diskoi* and *halteres* (jumping weights). These items also appear in the many vase paintings depicting athletes at the *gymnasion*. All three categories of evidence must be considered together in order to reconstruct ancient Greek athletics.

The *gymnasion* was accessible only to citizen men and boys.<sup>30</sup> Given that only the wealthy could afford the luxury of leisure time in the *gymnasion*, athletics reflected elite social status.<sup>31</sup> Both the literary and the visual sources confirm that Greek men exercised and competed in athletics in the nude. Several classical authors, including Plato (*Republic*, 5.452c) and Thucydides (*Histories*, 1.6.5), identify exercise in the nude as a uniquely Greek institution that distinguished Greeks from barbarians. Hence, athletic nudity was an indicator of ethnicity as well as social status. The homosocial and homoerotic environment of the *gymnasion* was an important milieu for bodily display.<sup>32</sup>

Upon entering the *gymnasion* complex, the athlete would have removed his clothing in the *apodyterium*, as depicted in the splendid red-figure *krater* by Euphronios in Berlin. On the far right of side A (Figure 3.1a), a youth folds his *himation* before handing it to a boy attendant.<sup>33</sup> Lacking such an attendant, the man in the center has heaped his garment on a folding stool.<sup>34</sup> He pours oil from an *aryballos* into his hand, in order to anoint his skin prior to exercise.<sup>35</sup> The purpose of this practice is unclear: it may have been employed to protect the skin from the elements or to massage the muscles prior to exercise.<sup>36</sup> The oil also intensified the effect of the sun on the skin, creating a deep, dark, tan.<sup>37</sup> Whether this oil contained scent or coloring remains an open question.<sup>38</sup> Some late literary sources mention the practice of sprinkling the oiled body with a fine powder, but it is unclear whether this was a Classical practice.<sup>39</sup>



(a)



(b)



3.1. Red-figure *krater*, Euphronios, ca. 510 BCE, Antikenmuseum, Staatliche Museen F 2180, Berlin. ©bpk, Berlin/Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Germany/Johannes Laurentius/Art Resource, NY.

The custom of tying up the foreskin with a cord or string is likewise absent from Classical literary sources, though it is represented on several vases, for example on side B of the Euphronios *krater* (Figure 3.1b).<sup>40</sup> Late lexicographers refer to the cords as *kynodesmai* (dog leashes).<sup>41</sup> The purpose of this practice has been debated: some have suggested that it served as a kind of proto-jock strap



or to control sexual impulses.<sup>42</sup> But the appearance of *komasts* with similarly bound genitals in scenes of the *symposion* (e.g., Figure 6.1) suggests that it was not exclusively an athletic practice.<sup>43</sup> Rather, it served as a means of preventing accidental exposure of the glans during any vigorous movement, which would have been considered unseemly.<sup>44</sup>

Athletic activity was itself an important means of body modification.<sup>45</sup> Sculptures commemorating Greek athletes emphasize well-defined muscles, exemplifying in monumental form an ideal male body to which all aspired (e.g., Figures 2.4, 2.5, 3.3). It is possible that certain athletic events developed specific muscle groups, or that particular body types were favored in some events.<sup>46</sup> Boxers, wrestlers, and *pankratiasts* are often depicted in vase painting as “heavyweights.”<sup>47</sup> Although athletic injuries were not intentional, they could have resulted in permanent or semi-permanent body modifications.

Exercise in the *gymnasion* was reserved exclusively for men, but women did participate in athletics in Archaic and Classical Greece, primarily in ritual contexts.<sup>48</sup> Such events were generally running races that functioned as rites of passage for young girls. In the Arkteia at Brauron, Athenian girls between the ages of five and ten ran foot races for Artemis, the younger girls wearing short *chitoniskoi*, the older girls running naked.<sup>49</sup> The Heraia at Olympia featured a foot race in the stadium for maidens, who also wore a special garment.<sup>50</sup> These events were fundamentally different from men’s athletics: they represent a temporary inversion of gender norms in the context of an initiation ritual. Given that girls participated in athletics only periodically, it seems unlikely that such events had a lasting effect on physique.

If we are to believe the literary sources, Spartan women did exercise on a regular basis, in order to achieve healthy bodies able to withstand the stresses of childbearing.<sup>51</sup> Several Athenian authors emphasize the scandalous nudity of Spartan women in public contexts, and it is possible that they also exercised without cumbersome garments.<sup>52</sup> A series of approximately two dozen bronze mirror handles in the form of nude female figures may represent Spartan female athletes.<sup>53</sup> Perhaps the mirrors functioned like the monumental sculptures of nude male athletes, as models of the ideal athletic female body for young women to emulate.<sup>54</sup>

Although athletics would have been outside the norm for most Greek women, they could have achieved a degree of physical fitness by means of domestic labor. In Xenophon’s *Oeconomicus*, Socrates encourages his young wife to perform her household chores vigorously in order to make her more attractive: “I said that mixing flour and kneading dough were excellent exercise, as were shaking and folding clothes and linens. I said that after she had exercised in that way she would enjoy her food more, be healthier, and truly improve her complexion” (10.11).<sup>55</sup> The performance of household chores

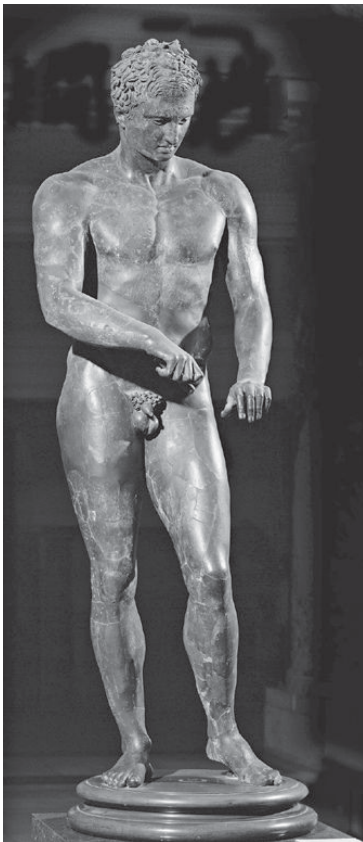
(a)



(b)



3.2. Red-figure *kylix*, Codrus Painter, ca. 430 BCE, British Museum E83, London. ©Trustees of the British Museum.



3.3. Scraper from Ephesos, Roman copy of Greek original bronze of ca. 330 BCE, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung VI 3168, Vienna. ©Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.

indoors would also have resulted in the feminine ideal of pale skin, in contrast to the dark tan acquired by men exercising in the open-air *gymnasion*.<sup>56</sup>

### Bathing

The third element of *diaita* is hygiene. The essential relationship between exercise and bathing is manifest in the plan of the *gymnasion* complex, which included bathing facilities from the earliest periods.<sup>57</sup> The first step in the bathing process was to remove the accumulated sweat, dust, and oil from the body using a bronze *strigil*.<sup>58</sup> This is a favorite subject for sculptors and vase painters, who delight in the scrapers' varied poses and gestures.<sup>59</sup> On side A of a red-figure *kylix* by the Codrus Painter in the British Museum (Figure 3.2a), five youths using *strigils* are depicted from various angles. The scrapings, called *gloios*, were preserved and sold for medicinal purposes, though we have no secure literary testimony for the practice prior to the Roman period.<sup>60</sup> The process of cleaning the *strigil* with the thumb or index finger is demonstrated on many vase paintings, and by the bronze statue of a scraper from Ephesos (Figure 3.3b).<sup>61</sup>

Following the removal of the *gloios*, athletes would bathe in cold water. Side B of the Codrus Painter *kylix* depicts three men standing around an elevated round basin called a *louterion*.<sup>62</sup> On the right, a man has dipped water from a well to pour over the head



3.4. Red-figure *stamnos*, Group of Polygnotos, ca. 475–425 BCE, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2411, Munich. ©Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München; photograph by Renate Kühling.

of a kneeling comrade (Figure 3.2b). Washing might have been followed with another application of oil.<sup>63</sup> It is unclear how often men would bathe at the *gymnasion*, or whether they also washed at home.

Bathing for women differed from men's bathing. Barred from the *gymnasion*, they did not partake in communal baths following exercise.<sup>64</sup> The visual evidence for women's bathing is complex, and interpretation is complicated by the nudity of the figures.<sup>65</sup> The iconography of the vases changed over time, with black-figure scenes of naked women swimming in the open air replaced by images of women bathing in fountain houses, and finally red-figure vases depicting women bathing indoors at *louteria*.<sup>66</sup> A red-figure *stamnos* in Munich by the Group of Polygnotos (Figure 3.4) depicts three nude women standing around a *louterion* at various stages of their toilette: the woman on the left has just removed her boots and wraps her garment into a ball; the figure on the right dips her hands into the basin; the woman in the center holds an *alabastron* containing scented oil with which she perfumes her hair with a

wand.<sup>67</sup> Her frontal pose suggests sexual allure, though her genitals are hidden by the *louterion*.<sup>68</sup> This scene is usually identified as bathing *hetairai* because of the frontality and nudity of the figures, though some have argued that images of this type represent proper maidens whose desirability is emphasized by the display of their bodies, especially given the prevalence of bathers in nuptial scenes of the later fifth and fourth centuries (e.g., [Figure 7.7](#)).<sup>69</sup>

The transformative effects of bathing are emphasized in the Hippocratic prescriptions for baths as part of the *diaita*. As is the case for diet, most of the recommendations are aimed at women. Warm baths accompany a diet of “moist” foods, while “drying” diets require abstinence from most foods and from bathing (*Diseases of Women*, II 71.60). As a result, the “moist” regimen caused the patient to gain weight, while the “dry” regimen caused weight loss.<sup>70</sup>

The strictures of the Greek *diaita* reflect the broader ideological structures of Greek society.<sup>71</sup> *Diaita* are intended only for the Greek elite: no provisions are made for non-elites or barbarians, whose health and well-being are not of general concern. The prescriptions of diet, exercise, and bathing would have primarily benefited the elite male, who had access to a variety of plentiful foodstuffs, as well as the exercise and bathing facilities of the *gymnasion* complex. Women did not share the same benefits and were especially subject to restrictions in the *diaita*. The ideal body that resulted from following the *diaita* was male, muscular, and tanned; its opposite was the female body, fleshy and pale.

As habitual practices that were generally performed in public, the *diaita* were an especially effective means of constructing both social class and gender. The *gymnasion* complex provided an arena for the repeated performance of elite masculinity and voyeuristic display of the ideal male body. Women and non-elites were denied access to the *gymnasion* complex and consequently remained outside the cultural ideal.<sup>72</sup>

### *Aromata*

The olfactory experience of the ancient Greeks was quite unlike our own.<sup>73</sup> Ancient Greek cities fell far below modern standards of sanitation, while rural farmsteads housed animals and humans in close proximity. Although we do not know how frequently people bathed, the ancient Greeks certainly lacked the array of personal care products we take for granted, including soaps and shampoos, deodorants and antiperspirants. Hence, the management of bodily odors by means of perfumes and scents was of extreme importance.

### **Perfumes**

Although perfume<sup>74</sup> is not generally a visual means of body modification, ancient artists alluded to scent by means of flowers held or worn by figures

in vase painting and sculpture.<sup>75</sup> For example, the *kore* Phrasikleia (Figure 3.8) holds a lotus and wears jewelry in the form of flowers.<sup>76</sup> Flowers also appear, appropriately, as decorative motifs on perfume containers, which themselves are frequently represented in vase painting (e.g., Figures 3.1a, 3.4, 3.5, 3.9) and relief sculpture.<sup>77</sup> Vase painting likewise gives evidence for perfume merchants, for whom we have abundant literary testimony but scant archaeological remains.<sup>78</sup>

The most extensive archaeological evidence by far is the thousands of perfume containers that have survived throughout the Greek world and beyond, primarily from funerary contexts.<sup>79</sup> A few exceptional examples have been recovered intact with their contents preserved, still fragrant after 2,500 years!<sup>80</sup> Scientific analysis of the residues inside closed vessels allows comparison with the recipes for perfumes preserved in the literary sources.<sup>81</sup> Workshops for the production of perfume have not been identified prior to the Hellenistic period; it may be that small-scale production in the Archaic and Classical periods did not leave an identifiable archaeological footprint.<sup>82</sup>

The literary evidence for perfumes and scents is exceptionally rich and diverse.<sup>83</sup> References to perfumes are pervasive in early poetry and prose.<sup>84</sup> Predictably, comedy is an excellent source for social conventions governing the use of perfumes, but tragedy is also surprisingly informative. Although it is slightly later than the period in question, Theophrastus' treatise *Concerning Odors* is a critical source for methods of production as well as the ideologies of scent.<sup>85</sup> Several other Hellenistic and Roman sources, especially Pliny's *Natural History* and Dioscorides' *Materia medica*, describe scents that were certainly also used in Archaic and Classical Greece, though we cannot depend on them for early social attitudes toward perfumes.<sup>86</sup>

Perfume was known in Greece as early as the Bronze Age; after the fall of the Mycenaean palaces, the technology for perfume production was lost.<sup>87</sup> Imported perfumes, if not the means of production, entered Greece again as part of the general wave of Orientalizing influences in the seventh century BCE.



3.5. Black-figure white-ground alabastron, Diosphos Painter, ca. 525–475 BCE, Schloss Fasanerie AV 16, Adolphseck. ©Kulturstiftung des Hauses Hessen, Museum Schloss Fasanerie, Eichenzell Germany.



The Greek trading depot at Naukratis may have been an important source, to judge from the number of Egyptian words relating to perfume borrowed by the Greeks.<sup>88</sup> As discussed, archaeological evidence for the production of perfume in the Archaic and Classical periods is lacking, which perhaps confirms the later testimony of Athenaeus (15.686–7) that the Lacedaemonians expelled perfumers from Sparta, and Solon banished “unguent cooks” from Athens.<sup>89</sup> On the other hand, the ceramic evidence suggests that Corinth was a strong center of distribution for perfumes in the seventh century, to be eclipsed by Athens in the sixth century. The popularity of exotic formulations is evident in their names, which often reflect their place of manufacture, such as Corinthian, Egyptian, Rhodian.

The exotic connotations of perfume are pervasive in Greek literature. According to Herodotus (1.195), Babylonian men perfumed their entire bodies, and Xenophon (*Oeconomicus* 4.23) remarks that the Persian king Cyrus smelled of perfume.<sup>90</sup> Several passages in tragedy underscore the negative value attached to barbarian fragrances: in the *Orestes* of Euripides, the wanton Helen returns from Troy accompanied by slaves to hold her mirror and perfumes (1110–1113); in Euripides’ *Bacchae*, the “Lydian foreigner” (the god Dionysos in disguise) is identified by his blond, perfumed locks (235).<sup>91</sup>

Given the barbarian connotations of perfumes, it is no surprise that perfumes are most often associated with women, especially in erotic contexts.<sup>92</sup> A fragment of Antiphanes’ play *Men from Thorikus* or *Tunneller* (fr. 105) describes an entire wardrobe of perfumes employed in a woman’s toilette: “Egyptian for her jaw and legs, / Of palm for her cheeks and breasts, / Of mint for one arm, / Of marjoram for her eyebrows and hair, / Of tufted thyme for her knee and throat.”<sup>93</sup> The explicitly erotic function of perfumes is demonstrated in the charming passage of Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata*, in which Myrrhina teases her husband with the promise of sex, pretending to fumble over the appropriate scent (938–947).<sup>94</sup> In Aristophanes’ *Assemblywomen*, when Blepyrus suspects Praxagora of infidelity, her defense is “See if you can smell perfume on my head,” to which he replies, “What? Can’t a woman get fucked even without perfume?” (523–525; cf. 1117–1118).<sup>95</sup>

The use of perfumes by Greek men is met with some ambivalence by the ancient authors. Men certainly used perfumes in the context of the *symposium*, because of its luxurious and erotic qualities.<sup>96</sup> In Xenophon’s *Symposium* (2.3–4), Socrates denounces the use of perfume by men because it erased the social distinctions between male and female, rich and poor, citizen and slave.<sup>97</sup> Theophrastus displays no negative attitudes toward men’s use of perfumes, though he specifies that they are different from women’s scents: “The lightest [perfumes] are rose perfume and *kypros*, which seem to be the best suited to men, as also is lily perfume” (*Concerning Odors*, 42). For women he recommends “myrrh oil, *megaleion*,<sup>98</sup> the Egyptian, sweet marjoram and spikenard: for these owing to their

strength and substantial character are not easily made to disperse, and a lasting perfume is what women require” (*Concerning Odors*, 42). On the other hand, he later describes perfume powders for sprinkling on bedding, in order to give men’s bodies a long-lasting scent (*Concerning Odors*, 57–60).<sup>99</sup> It seems likely that the use of perfume in itself was not an indicator of gender; rather, the quality of the scent, and its strength, may have been most significant.<sup>100</sup>

Scientific analysis of the residues preserved inside closed vessels supplies important comparanda for the literary sources on perfume. William Biers and his colleagues employed nondestructive gas chromatography-mass spectrometry (GC-MS) extraction and analysis on a series of plastic *aryballoi* of Corinthian manufacture. Although the identification is not secure, the liquid was probably oil, possibly olive oil, which was recommended by Theophrastus as a base for perfume. The scent was created using a series of resinous substances, including cedar, suggesting that the oil could have been used as an insect repellent or in embalming.<sup>101</sup> Interestingly, they found no evidence of the iris perfume for which Corinth was famous.<sup>102</sup>

### Body Odors

Odors emanating from the body were a concern for the Greeks.<sup>103</sup> Predictably, comedy is full of references to foul body odors: armpits stinking like goats (Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 852; *Peace*, 813); a belch reeking of onions and vinegar (Aristophanes, *Peace*, 529); women chewing garlic to conceal the effects of a night of illicit sex (Aristophanes, *Women at the Thesmophoria*, 495–496); farts (Aristophanes, *Knights*, 897–898; *Wealth*, 693, 698–699); excreta (Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 489).<sup>104</sup>

Scatological issues are not the sole preserve of the comic poets; several scientific writers speculate as to the cause of bodily odors. For example, the writer of the *Problems* once attributed to Aristotle wonders:

“Why do the mouths of those who have eaten nothing, but are fasting, smell more (this is called the smell of fasting), but the mouths of those who have eaten do not, though they rather should do so? ... Why is the armpit the most unpleasant-smelling region? ... Why do those who have a goat-smell, when they are anointed with ointment, become more unpleasant?” (13.7–9). Aristotle’s student Theophrastus investigates the specific problem of sweat: “one kind (of sweat) has a bad odor, another is lacking in odor, (still another) in some people is acidic in odor, and there are other kinds of bad odor as well.... For many of those who take exercise and seem to be in good condition have a heavy and bad odor when they sweat, (but this is misleading,) since it is clear from many things that (bad odor is caused) by the bad condition (of the body): from those who are sick and from those who, being rather frequently engaged in sexual activity, are already in a (bad) condition, and generally those who (as convalescents) are already attending (to the body).... Adolescents have

especially bad odors when they sweat; with advancing age less, aged men not at all" (*On Sweat*, 5–7).<sup>105</sup>

Foul odors emanate from the armpit because air does not circulate there, resulting in a kind of rot (*On Sweat*, 9).

Not all odors emanating from the body were unpleasant. Children were thought to have especially sweet-smelling breath and skin.<sup>106</sup> In Xenophon's *Symposium*, Socrates claims that "women, especially if they are young, do not need any additional perfumes, because they are fragrant themselves."<sup>107</sup> The gendered determination of body odors is underscored in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, when the men, and later the women, remove their clothing in order to release their respective scents (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 662–663, 686). Body odor was also determined by social class, as in Aristophanes' *Clouds* when the rustic Strepsiades describes his marriage to a wealthy city girl: "When I married her I climbed into bed smelling of new wine, figs, fleeces, and abundance; and she of perfume, saffron, tongue kisses, extravagance, gluttony" (46–52).

Odors and scents are especially important for the construction of identity, because unlike most aspects of dress, they are primarily nonvisual. While a decorated perfume container may carry some prestige, scents have the unique capacity of communicating across space without any visual cue. Scent also transcends time, since it may linger even after the departure of the dressed individual. Because the perception of scent is culturally determined, we cannot be confident in our reconstruction of the ancient olfactory experience. On the other hand, the evidence suggests that odors and scents were essential to the formulation of the dressed individual.

Perfumes and body odors are closely associated with bathing practices (pp. 60–62). The application of scented oils to the skin and hair was a regular feature of the bath, especially for women. Conversely, infrequent bathing would have resulted in increased body odor. Given that regular bathing was a privilege of the elite, it follows that artificial scent in the form of perfume was reserved for those of high status, while naturally occurring body odor was associated with low status, as reflected in the literary sources. Perfume was certainly a luxury product, especially exotic formulations of imported flowers and spices. The barbarian associations of perfume made it especially appropriate for women's use, though it is clear that men used certain types of perfumes in particular contexts, especially the ritual context of the *symposion*. The erotic connotations of perfume likewise suggest that it was gendered feminine.<sup>108</sup>

### *Cosmetics*

The evidence for cosmetics is more limited than that for perfume.<sup>109</sup> Visual sources are generally lacking. Although the facial features of marble sculptures were emphasized with polychromy, it is difficult to determine in most



cases whether this was intended to replicate cosmetics.<sup>110</sup> The techniques of black- and red-figure vases do not easily allow for the rendering of such details, but neither do white-ground vases depict obviously madeup faces. Despite the prevalence of images of women holding mirrors, even gazing at their own reflections, representations of women applying cosmetics are completely absent, in contrast to the many images of women bathing and applying perfume.<sup>111</sup>

The literary evidence is likewise limited.<sup>112</sup> The *locus classicus* for Greek attitudes toward cosmetic use is Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, in which Ischomachus chastises his wife for making up her face "with a great deal of white face powder (*psimythion*) so that she might appear paler than she was, and with plenty of rouge (*enchousa*) so that she might seem to have a more rosy complexion than she truly had" (10.2).<sup>113</sup> The deceptive quality of cosmetics is emphasized in comedy with a repeated trope in which an older woman tries to attract a younger lover by plastering her face with makeup.<sup>114</sup> Other contemporary sources for cosmetics are rare: Theophrastus gives some information regarding materials, but cultural attitudes surrounding the use of cosmetics are absent.<sup>115</sup> The pejorative connotations of cosmetics are emphasized by the early Church fathers (e.g., Gregory of Nazianzus, "Against Women Who Use Cosmetics"), who likewise influence the late lexicographers; hence, the many later sources concerning cosmetics cannot be trusted.<sup>116</sup>

In stark contrast to the visual and literary sources, the archaeological evidence for cosmetics is widespread. Ceramic boxes (e.g., *pyxis*, *lekanis*) containing tablets of white lead carbonate (*psimythion*) (Figure 3.6) and red alkanet (*enchousa*) are common finds in graves, as are cosmetic spoons and applicators in ivory and bronze.<sup>117</sup> These objects are found exclusively in women's graves, suggesting that cosmetics were used by women only.

The literary sources confirm that cosmetics were gendered feminine.<sup>118</sup> As discussed earlier, the ideal skin color for women was white, as a reflection of their elite status. Ischomachus' complaint regarding his wife's use of makeup rests on the notion that she is artificially creating the pallor that should result naturally from her containment within the *oikos*.<sup>119</sup> In general, the deceptive quality of cosmetics corresponds to Greek ideas regarding feminine cunning and deception. In Lysias' speech *On the Murder of Eratosthenes* (1.14), the defendant Euphiletus suspected his wife's affair because she had left the house wearing face powder.<sup>120</sup>

On the other hand, there is some evidence that men also employed cosmetics to replicate the appearance of tanned skin that would result naturally from exercise in the nude in the *gymnasion*.<sup>121</sup> Ischomachus' criticism of his wife's use of cosmetics is made more emphatic with the provocative suggestion that he might employ cosmetics in the context of sex: "Should I seem more deserving of your love as a partner in intercourse if I tried to offer my body to you after



3.6. Corinthian *lekanis* containing cosmetic pigments, ca. 380/70, 3rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities – Kerameikos Museum 10539, Athens. ©Hellenic Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund. Photo: Bibi Saint-Pol/Wikimedia Commons/Public Domain.

taking care that it was strong and vigorous and therefore glowing with a genuinely healthy complexion? Or if I presented myself to you smeared with red lead (*miltos*) and wearing male-flesh-colored (*andreikelon*) eye make-up and had intercourse with you like that, deceiving you and offering you red lead (*miltos*) to see and touch instead of my own skin?”<sup>122</sup> Men’s cosmetics use is clearly not viewed in a positive manner.<sup>123</sup> Elsewhere in Greek literature, the only men who employ cosmetics are barbarians: Herodotus names several African tribes who smeared their bodies with *miltos* (4.191; 4.194; 7.69); Xenophon claims that Cyrus encouraged the use of eye makeup and cosmetics for the skin (*Cyropaedia*, 8.1.41), and that Astyages wore eyeliner, colorful makeup, and hairpieces, according to the custom of the Medes (*Cyropaedia* 1.3.2). In Ion’s satyr-play *Omphale* (frs. 24 and 25), Herakles’ transvestism is achieved by means of black kohl eyeliner, together with exotic perfumes and Lydian garments.<sup>124</sup> As with the use of perfumes, the conflation of feminine and barbarian underscores the negative connotations of cosmetics.

Given the pervasive disapproval of cosmetics in literature, how are we to interpret the widespread archaeological evidence for women’s use of cosmetics? As with perfumes, it may be a question of degree: an obviously made up woman (or man) was subject to censure, while judicious use of cosmetics connoted beauty and good breeding. The paradox of achieving a “natural”

appearance by artificial means persists in modern culture and serves as a means of social control of women.<sup>125</sup>

### *Transformations of the Hair*

Hair is ascribed special significance in many cultures, in part as a result of its unique qualities: it is of the body, but not itself alive; it is painlessly and easily manipulated by means of cutting, shaving, plucking, coloring, curling, binding, or covering; it is highly visible, especially that on the head and face.<sup>126</sup> Because hair, like fingernails and toenails, is easily detached from the body, it exists between cultural categories; hence, hair is taboo in many cultures.<sup>127</sup> On the other hand, its visibility, combined with the ease with which it may be transformed, makes it especially effective as a marker of changes in social status.

For the Greeks, hair was primarily a symbol of generation.<sup>128</sup> According to Aristotle, the brain was moist; therefore, the head contained the most moisture in the body (*Problems*, 1.16), and this moisture sustained the growth of hair on the head (*Problems*, 1.16; *Generation of Animals*, 5.3).<sup>129</sup> Since sexual intercourse drains semen, and therefore moisture, from the head, men were predisposed to baldness (*Generation of Animals*, 5.3).<sup>130</sup> Likewise, men with thick hair were considered lustful (*Problems*, 4.31). The erotic value of hair required that it be subject to social control by means of cutting and binding.

### **Cephalic Hair**

Maintenance of head hair was an essential component of an individual's *kosmos* (adornment).<sup>131</sup> Disheveled hair was a sign that one was outside the proper order of things, for example, the disaffected, philosophers, persons in mourning, and old people.<sup>132</sup> Properly arranged hair reflected proper social order.<sup>133</sup>

It is unclear when professional barbers were first employed in Greece.<sup>134</sup> Presumably, in early periods men and women tended their own hairstyles.<sup>135</sup> By the fifth century, barbershops were popular gathering places for men; like perfume shops, they were a source of gossip and news.<sup>136</sup> Barbers maintained the hair and beard, and they may also have performed other services such as nail paring, removal of corns and warts, and the plucking of stray body hairs.<sup>137</sup> Implements such as shears, tweezers, combs, and mirrors are common finds in all periods, though the majority were certainly personal articles as opposed to professional tools.<sup>138</sup> Barbers are not depicted on Greek vases, but fifth-century terra cottas representing barbers with their customers are known from Tanagra.<sup>139</sup>

Women, for whom professional hairstylists were apparently unknown, maintained their own coiffures, sometimes with the aid of personal attendants. Despite the prevalence of toilette scenes generally in vase painting, images of hairstyling are relatively rare.<sup>140</sup> These scenes date primarily to the late fifth and fourth centuries, and adorn "women's pots," for example a red-figure *pyxis*

(a)



(b)



3.7. Red-figure *pyxis*, unattributed, ca. 420–410 BCE, Musée du Louvre, CA 2262, Paris. Photo: Hervé Lewandowski. ©RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY. Drawing by Glynnis Fawkes.

from Kerch depicting a crouching nude woman combing her hair while gazing into a mirror (Figure 3.7). An exceptional scene on a *lekanis* lid by the Marsyas Painter (Figure 3.8), also from Kerch, depicts women in various stages of (un)dress, some arranging their own hair, some attended by others, including *erotes*; the crouching bather may be Aphrodite, or perhaps a bride.<sup>141</sup> The proper arrangement of the hair, together with the application of scented oils (which surely also functioned as styling products), would have comprised an essential element of the preparations of the bride.<sup>142</sup>

The use of artificial dyes and hairpieces, while prevalent in Egypt and in Greece during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, seems not to have been conventional practice in Archaic and Classical Greece.<sup>143</sup> Wigs are mentioned by Xenophon as a common Median fashion (*Cyropaedia*, 1.3.2) and by dramatists in scenes of male-to-female transvestism (e.g., Aristophanes, *Women at the Thesmophoria*, 258).<sup>144</sup> Although it has been argued that the hairstyles of some Acropolis *korai* would have been impossible to achieve without the use of wigs or “extensions,” we should not expect the sculptor to mirror reality in every detail.<sup>145</sup> Likewise, though the Acropolis *korai* display a broad range of hair colors, including blonde, brown, and red, and Lyric poets refer to various colors, it is impossible to determine whether these reflect natural hair colors or shades achieved artificially.<sup>146</sup>

A comprehensive history of Greek hairstyles has not been attempted, presumably because of the complexity of the evidence. Still, broad patterns can be



3.8. Red-figure *lekane*, Marsyas Painter, ca. 370–360 BCE, State Hermitage Museum UO-32, St. Petersburg. Photograph ©The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Vladimir Terebenin. Drawing by Glynnis Fawkes.

detected, primarily on the basis of gender and age, though these change over time. Most studies are based on representations in sculpture, which is generally more detailed, and at a larger scale, than vase painting.<sup>147</sup> In most cases, the visual evidence is corroborated by the literary sources. Unfortunately, specific styles are rarely described in detail by the ancient authors, and although Pollux



and the lexicographers name several hairstyles, we cannot be confident of their identifications.<sup>148</sup>

As in many cultures, Greek hairstyles functioned as indicators of gender and age.<sup>149</sup> In general, both boys and girls wore their hair long; as they grew toward adulthood, their hair was progressively brought under social control by means of braiding, binding, or cutting.<sup>150</sup> Artistic conventions change over time, and there is a discernible shift from the Archaic to the Classical periods. For example, early Archaic *kouroi* and *korai* (e.g., Figures 4.14, 5.8) all wear their hair long in the back and cut short in the front, perhaps a reflection of ritual hair-cutting at puberty (for boys) or marriage (for girls).<sup>151</sup> The long, unbound hair symbolizes aristocratic status for both genders. Later *kouroi* wear shorter styles (e.g., Figure 2.4), sometimes achieved by rolling or plaiting the hair, binding the braids along the hairline.<sup>152</sup> This practical style seems to have developed as a reflection of the increased popularity of athletics after the middle of the sixth century.<sup>153</sup> After this time, men and boys are usually represented with short hair (e.g., Figures 2.5, 3.3), and long hair is reserved for (some) divinities. In contrast, adult women, both human and divine, are generally shown with long hair bound up in a chignon or “ponytail” (e.g., Figures 3.5, 3.14, 4.21, 5.12, 5.23, 7.8), sometimes with a fillet, or covered with a *sakkos*, *mitra*, or veil (e.g., Figures 4.10, 4.12, 4.22, 4.23, 5.16a, 7.8, 7.15).<sup>154</sup>

Whereas hairstyles for boys and men form a continuum, the visual evidence reflects a clear progression in feminine hairstyles from girlhood to adult womanhood.<sup>155</sup> For example, three Classical grave stelai depicting idealized images of deceased females at different life stages display three distinct hairstyles:<sup>156</sup> the young girl wears her long hair loose down her back, with only the front locks caught in a topknot (Figure 4.8); the *parthenos* wears hers bound up in a band, but with the ends of her hair emerging from it like a kind of brush (Figure 4.9); while the hair of the adult *gyne* is completely bound with a *sakkos*, and covered in addition with a thin veil (Figure 4.22).<sup>157</sup> The hairstyles associated with the three primary female life stages reflect increasing levels of social control. Further gradations of this scheme are discernible in Classical vase painting – for example, on side A of the red-figure *kylix* by the Wedding Painter in Compiègne (Figure 3.9). The two maidens in the center gathering fruit are identifiable by their long hair: the figure on the right wears hers loose underneath her *stephane*, whereas the figure on the left wears hers in a kind of bound ponytail tied with a fringed fillet.<sup>158</sup> The other women, in contrast, have their hair bound up completely, identifying them as *gynai*. The significance of binding and covering women’s hair is especially evident in the prevalence of hair-binding scenes in wedding iconography (see Chapter 7, p. 210).

Interestingly, it seems that proper women’s hairstyles were shared by *hetairai* as well. Although women of servile status are often identified by cropped hair,



3.9. Red-figure *kylix*, Wedding Painter, ca. 470 BCE, Musée Vivenel 1090, Compiègne.



3.10. Tondo of red-figure *kylix*, Briseis Painter, ca. 480–460 BCE, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese XXXXo.4434, Tarquinia.

few women in *symposion* scenes wear this style (though see [Figure 3.10](#)). Long hair is more common, usually arranged in the same way as proper women.<sup>159</sup> The fact that *hetairai* are not distinguished from other women by means of hairstyle suggests that the primary referent for hairstyles was gender as opposed to social status. It likewise suggests a slippage of social categories also discernible



in other practices of body modification, such as bathing and the use of cosmetics (discussed earlier).

Short-haired women in Attic iconography are generally identified as slaves (Figures 3.10, 7.16).<sup>160</sup> The notion that shorn hair indicated servile status is a frequent trope in the literary sources (e.g., Aristophanes, *Birds*, 911).<sup>161</sup> On the other hand, male workers often cover their short hair with various head coverings, while male elites rarely cover their heads.<sup>162</sup> In both cases, those of lower status experience a kind of inversion of gender roles: the female slave has short hair like a man; the male worker covers his head like a woman.

Persons of an advanced age are represented as such by artistic conventions that closely mirror biological realities.<sup>163</sup> In vase painting, mature men are recognizable by their receding hairlines or partial baldness (Figures 4.12, 6.1), while elderly men and women are distinguished by their white (or gray) hair (Figures 4.10, 5.20).<sup>164</sup> These are, in fact, naturally occurring *permanent* body modifications.<sup>165</sup> As discussed earlier, hair carries with it erotic connotations; hence, hair loss indicated a corresponding loss of sexual prowess. On the other hand, balding men are frequently represented on *symposion* cups engaged in sexual activity; but perhaps these images are intended to be humorous. It seems that white hair also connoted loss of sexual vigor: in several poems of Anacreon, an aged speaker paradoxically denies the diminished capacities of a mature lover.<sup>166</sup> In general, however, white hair simply identifies the bearer as old, in contrast to dark-haired youths.<sup>167</sup>

Although distinctions in hairstyles between older and younger men are commonly mentioned in literature, they are not generally apparent in the visual sources, in which adult men share the same short cut. Thucydides (*Histories*, 1.6.3) notes that old men fastened their long hair with golden cicadas, presumably a type of barrette (echoed by Aristophanes at *Knights*, 1331; *Clouds*, 983).<sup>168</sup> Although hairclips are not represented, Attic grave stelai of the fourth century generally represent older men with longer locks.<sup>169</sup> On the other hand, Aristophanes makes several references to young men wearing their hair long, with obvious disapproval.<sup>170</sup> Long “Laconian” hair (discussed later) carried with it connotations of excessive luxury (e.g., *Clouds*, 14; *Knights*, 579–580) and passive homosexuality (*Clouds*, 1101; *Wasps*, 1068–1070). This hairstyle may reflect larger social changes of the last decades of the fifth century, in particular a perceived breakdown of popular morality.<sup>171</sup>

As is often the case for Spartan social practices, Laconian hairstyles are reported by Athenian authors to be the exact opposite of their own.<sup>172</sup> Whereas Athenian males grew their hair as children and cut it upon reaching adulthood, Spartan boys were kept shorn, but they grew their hair long as adults.<sup>173</sup> Herodotus explains the origin of the long style as a sign of mourning following a sixth-century military defeat by the Argives (who thereafter cut their hair short: 1.82); Xenophon ascribes the style to the lawgiver Lycurgus’ conviction

that “it would make them look taller, more dignified and more terrifying” (*Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, 11.3).<sup>174</sup> Aristotle notes that the Spartan hairstyle was the mark of a free man, since it was difficult to perform menial tasks with long hair (*Rhetoric*, 1.9.26–27). On the other hand, young Athenian elites emulating Laconian hairstyles and clothing are mocked in Aristophanes.

Just as Spartan men’s hairstyles are the opposite of those of Athenian men, Spartan women’s hairstyles are the opposite of those worn by Athenian women; they are also the opposite of Spartan men’s. The evidence is mostly late, though Aristotle says that Spartan women were required to wear their hair short (*Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, fr. 8);<sup>175</sup> Plutarch further specifies that it was cut as part of the Spartan wedding ceremony, in which the bride would also wear a man’s cloak and sandals (Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 15.3).<sup>176</sup> As Vernant has noted: “In shaving the head of the young bride, everything that could be still considered masculine and martial – and wild – in her femininity is extirpated in her new matrimonial state.”<sup>177</sup>

Similar inversions characterize the hairstyles of barbarians. Regarding Egyptians, for example, Herodotus notes that “Everywhere else, priests of the gods wear their hair long; in Egypt they are shaven. With all other men, in mourning for the dead those most nearly concerned have their heads shaven; Egyptians are shaven at other times, but after a death they let their hair and beard grow” (2.36).<sup>178</sup> Herodotus’ description matches images of Egyptians in Greek vase painting (e.g., [Figure 3.18](#)).<sup>179</sup> Aside from the Egyptians, most foreigners are identifiable in vase painting by their headgear rather than their hairstyles.<sup>180</sup> An exception is the Thracians, who are sometimes represented with light or reddish color hair, confirming the testimony of Xenophanes of Kolophon (fr. 16).<sup>181</sup> Some Thracian women have cropped hair (though this could be an indication of their servile status rather than their ethnicity); others have long, unkempt hair, emphasizing their wildness.<sup>182</sup> Africans (or Ethiopians) are distinguished by their wooly hair, sometimes rendered in relief on vases.<sup>183</sup> Herodotus specifies that Ethiopians from the East have straight hair, whereas those from Libya have the wooliest hair of all men (7.70; cf. Xenophanes fr. 16). In general, the hair of barbarians is distinct from that of Greeks.

Within the Greek (male) population, some natural characteristics of the hair were thought to reflect internal character. In the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomics*, the meanings of hair are adduced by means of analogy, especially with women, barbarians, and animals. For example, the author argues:

When the hair of the head stands up stiff, it signifies cowardice, by congruity, for fright makes the hair stand on end: and very wooly hair also signifies cowardice, as may be seen in Ethiopians. Thus extremely bristly and extremely wooly hair alike signify cowardice, and so hair gently curling at the end will make for boldness of spirit, as is to be seen in lions. A ridge of hair on the upper part of the forehead indicates a liberal

disposition, as in the lion: but a growth of hair on the forehead down by the nose indicates illiberality, the argument being from congruity, because such a growth presents a servile appearance. (812<sup>b</sup>1.26–813<sup>a</sup>1.2)<sup>184</sup>

Such comparisons reinforce the Greek masculine ideal by constructing the others in opposition to the norm.

### Facial Hair

The artistic and literary conventions for facial hair reflect biology: adult men have beards, women, girls, and boys do not.<sup>185</sup> Although razors have been preserved archaeologically, adult males are generally not depicted in art clean-shaven.<sup>186</sup> That beards were considered markers of adult masculinity is demonstrated in Aristophanes' *Assemblywomen*, in which Praxagora and her co-conspirators don false beards in order to pass as men in the assembly (24–25, 68–72, 126–127).

The “first beard” of adolescent boys was an important indicator of maturity.<sup>187</sup> On a red-figure *hydria* by Phintias in the Munich Antikensammlungen (Figure 3.11a), three different life stages are reflected in the facial hair of the figures: the two adult men display thick beards and moustaches, while the young standing boy is beardless. The seated youth, however, is distinguished by the “peach fuzz” visible on his cheeks. As Gloria Ferrari has demonstrated, the first beard was highly erotically charged.<sup>188</sup> The appearance of hair on the face and body marked the transition from childhood to adulthood; hence, from potential *eromenos* (beloved) to *erastes* (lover).<sup>189</sup> Like cephalic hair, facial hair emanates from the head, the seat of generation. The bearded adult male is by definition a sexual being.

Older men are identifiable by their white or gray beards (e.g., Figures 4.10, 5.20), which may be slightly longer and unkempt (e.g., Figure 3.15) compared to the beards of younger men.<sup>190</sup> The decrepitude of Geras (Figure 3.12) is indicated by the sparse growth on his chin. Likewise, Scythians sometimes have short, thin beards.<sup>191</sup> Other barbarians may be bearded or clean-shaven. Slaves are generally beardless, clearly marking them in opposition to their bearded masters.

### Body Hair

Hair that grows on the body is often particularly meaningful because of its borderline relationship with the flesh and with clothing.<sup>192</sup> Body hair functions on a fundamental level as an indicator of the division between human and animal, with further distinctions between civilized and savage, child and adult, male and female.<sup>193</sup> Vivid testimony to the dynamic relationship between humans and animals is found in the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomics*:

Hairy legs mean lasciviousness, as in goats. Too much hair on breast and belly mean lack of persistence, as argued from birds, in which this bodily characteristic is most developed; but breasts too devoid of hair indicate

(a)



(b)



3.11. Red-figure *hydria*, Phintias, ca. 510 BCE, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2421, Munich. ©Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München; photograph by Renate Kühling.

impudence, as in women. So both extremes are bad, and an intermediate condition must be best. Hairy shoulders mean lack of persistence, on the analogy of birds: too much hair on the back, impudence, as in wild beasts. Hair on the nape of the neck indicates liberality, as in lions: hair on the point of the chin, a bold spirit, on the evidence of dogs. Eyebrows that meet signify moroseness, by congruity: eyebrows that droop on the nasal and rise on the temporal side, silliness, as is seen in swine. (812<sup>b</sup>.14–26)<sup>194</sup>



3.12. Red-figure *pelike*, Geras Painter, ca. 480–470, Musée du Louvre, G234, Paris. ©RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.

For the author of the *Physiognomics*, body hair is gendered male. Unfortunately, the visual evidence is far less emphatic: although body hair may have been indicated on sculpture by means of polychromy, no traces have been preserved.<sup>195</sup> A few examples of chest hair on mature men are discernible in vase painting (e.g., [Figures 3.10](#); [6.1](#)), though no obvious patterns emerge.<sup>196</sup> Armpit hair is likewise generally absent (though perhaps the short hatch-marks under the arm of the man in [Figure 3.10](#) are intended to represent hair).

That armpit hair was considered masculine is indicated by the humorous passage in Aristophanes' *Assemblywomen*, in which the women of Athens disguise themselves as men in order to infiltrate the assembly: one woman claims to have “armpits bushier than underbrush” (60–61); her companion chimes in: “Me too. I threw my razor out of the house right away, so that I’d get hairy all over and not look female at all” (65–67).<sup>197</sup> A general lack of hair was therefore



feminine; it was likewise a barbarian trait. Herodotus claims that Egyptian priests shaved their entire bodies in order to protect themselves against body lice (2.37).

### Pubic Hair

Both the literary and the visual sources confirm the practice of genital depilation for women.<sup>198</sup> Aristophanes makes several references to women removing their pubic hair by means of singeing and plucking, in order to make themselves sexually attractive.<sup>199</sup> In the *Assemblywomen*, Praxagora, the leader of the women's movement to take over the assembly, sings the praises of her lamp: "You alone illuminate the ineffable nooks between our thighs, when you singe away the hair that spouts there" (12–13).<sup>200</sup> The effectiveness of the sex-strike in the *Lysistrata* is guaranteed by the woman teasing their husbands by wearing diaphanous garments with their "pubes plucked in a neat triangle" (151).<sup>201</sup> Given the dramatic context of these passages, it is difficult to ascertain whether depilation was practiced by proper Athenian wives, or whether it is mentioned for comic effect. In the upside-down world of the *Assemblywomen*, Praxagora proclaims that slave girls should not be allowed to depilate their genitals, leaving "their pussies trimmed like a woolen barn jacket" (724), that is, with long or unkempt pubes.<sup>202</sup>

The visual sources are likewise ambiguous as to the social status of depilated women. Given the conventions governing feminine nudity in early Greek art, women's genitals are rarely represented.<sup>203</sup> Although nude women do appear in vase painting (e.g., in scenes of bathing and the *symposion*), they are most often represented in profile, so that their genitals are not easily visible. Martin Kilmer has collected several examples in which it seems that the artist has attempted to show neatly trimmed pubic hair; only a few represent complete depilation.<sup>204</sup> While we cannot be sure whether such images represent actual practices of body modification or stylization on the part of the artist, several vases represent the processes of plucking and singeing the hair with lamps.<sup>205</sup> The tondo of an Archaic red-figure *kylix* in the manner of Onesimos in Oxford, Mississippi (Figure 3.13), depicts a nude woman squatting over a basin: in one hand she holds a lamp to her depilated genitals; in the other hand, she holds a sponge to prevent accidental burns.<sup>206</sup> This figure may be identified as a *hetaira* on the basis of her nudity and her bold frontal pose (if not the amulet on her thigh; see Chapter 5, pp. 152–154), and the location of the image at the bottom of a *kylix*.<sup>207</sup> A Classical red-figure bell *krater* by the Dinos Painter in the Harvard Sackler Museum (Figure 3.14) depicts a seated woman performing her own depilation, while a standing woman is depilated by Eros.<sup>208</sup> The presence of Eros suggests a parallel with wedding scenes, making the identification of these women as *hetairai* problematic.<sup>209</sup>

Marilyn Skinner has argued that "it was customary for Greek and Roman prostitutes to depilate their pubic areas, in contrast to other women, presumably



3.13. Tondo of red-figure *kylix* in the manner of Onesimos, ca. 500 BCE, University of Mississippi Museum 77.3.112, Oxford, Mississippi. ©University of Mississippi Museum and Historic Houses, David M. Robinson Memorial Collection.



3.14. Red-figure bell-*krater*, Dinos Painter, ca. 430–420 BCE, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Anonymous Loan, 9.1988. Photo: Imaging Department ©President and Fellows of Harvard College.



respectable matrons, who did not do so. In both cultures, the practice thus becomes a regular source of bawdy humor.”<sup>210</sup> On the other hand, D. M. Bain contends that “depilation of the pubic region, whether complete or virtually complete, was part of the toilet of any Greek woman who had pretensions to smartness or glamour.”<sup>211</sup> On a functional level, depilation may have been employed to combat pubic lice (crabs), which are mentioned by various medical writers, and which have been preserved archaeologically in Roman Britain (though not in early Greece).<sup>212</sup> Perhaps depilation was first practiced by *hetairai*, and spread (together with the lice?) to housewives.<sup>213</sup>

Whether practiced by proper women or *hetairai*, depilation had connotations of eroticism and femininity.<sup>214</sup> A few passages in Aristophanes refer to the punishment of male adulterers by means of depilation, but these should be read as jokes: because they lacked control of their sexual impulses like women, they would be plucked like women.<sup>215</sup> On the other hand, the visual sources evidence suggests that men also shaped their pubes. The *kouros* called Aristodikos (Figure 2.4) displays pubic hair in the shape of a star or leaf, a pattern that is replicated among other *kouroi* as well as in vase painting.<sup>216</sup> R. R. R. Smith suggests that the stylized pubes of male figures in art reflect actual grooming practices intended to enhance genital display.<sup>217</sup> On the other hand, pubic hair is not always represented for either sex in either sculpture or vase painting, though it was added in paint on some marble statues.<sup>218</sup>

In her study of the gendered meanings of hair in the ancient Greek, Roman, and Jewish traditions, Molly Levine observes: “Men with visible hair and married women with invisible hair form the normative landscape of the ancient Mediterranean.”<sup>219</sup> The Greek ideal required that men display the hair on their heads, faces, and bodies, while women bound and covered the hair on their heads, and removed their body hair completely.<sup>220</sup> As with other temporary body modifications, the dramatic transformations of women’s hair reflect a high degree of social control.<sup>221</sup> In particular, Levine argues, control over women’s hair demonstrates control over women’s sexuality.<sup>222</sup> The visual evidence illustrates increased restraint in feminine hairstyles as girls mature into adolescents and adult women. On the other hand, the fact that (outside of Sparta) adult women’s hair was not cut off completely reflects the social necessity of feminine sexuality. The sexual connotations of women’s hair are evident in the fact that *hetairai* generally share the same long hair as proper women.<sup>223</sup> The potential for manipulation of feminine hairstyles suggests that hair may have functioned as a means of feminine agency.<sup>224</sup>

The opposition of ideal masculine and feminine hairstyles extends to non-ideal individuals, especially barbarians: Greek men are hairy, whereas Egyptians are clean-shaven; Greek women’s hair is neatly bound, while Thracian women’s hair is disheveled and wild; those of servile status are marked as other than

the ideal by their closely cropped hair. On the other hand, the fact that hair regenerates itself suggests that these social roles are not necessarily permanent.

#### PERMANENT BODY MODIFICATIONS

In contrast to temporary modifications to the body, which require repeated performance, permanent body modifications are constant and immutable.<sup>225</sup> Although it is sometimes difficult to distinguish temporary modifications from permanent ones in the visual record (removable body paint as opposed to tattooing, for example), the literary evidence can elucidate permanent practices of body modification. Some forms of permanent body modification may be considered *incidental*, such as wounds and scars; others are clearly *intentional*, including piercing, tattooing, scarification, and circumcision.<sup>226</sup> In general, permanent body modifications are reserved for non-ideal figures, especially barbarians.

#### *Wounds and Scars*

Prior to the advent of modern medicine, wounds and scars<sup>227</sup> would have been more visible than they are today.<sup>228</sup> While most wounds and scars are the result of accidental injuries, they nevertheless function as important indicators of identity.<sup>229</sup> Both the literary and the visual evidence emphasize injuries sustained on the battlefield or in athletic competition, as opposed to everyday mishaps.<sup>230</sup> In general, artists depict the action that results in the injury, rather than the resulting wound or scar. One exception is the appearance in later sixth-century black-figure vase painting of patterns of rows of dots on the bodies of warriors and athletes, which John Boardman identifies as healed wounds.<sup>231</sup> Athletic injuries such as “cauliflower ear” are likewise represented on vases depicting athletes, especially boxers and *pankratiasts*.<sup>232</sup>

In contrast to the “heroic” scars borne by elite warriors and athletes, slaves may have been permanently scarred as the result of being beaten, whipped, and tortured.<sup>233</sup> In Plato’s *Gorgias*, Socrates states that a slave can be identified even in the underworld by the markings on his body (524c). Likewise, female mourners, who were often hired professionals, may have been identifiable by the lacerations of their cheeks, a typical feature of lamentation.<sup>234</sup>

#### *Surgical Transformations of the Body*

Deliberate modifications to the body as a result of surgery are more difficult to identify for the early Greek period.<sup>235</sup> Although the Hippocratic oath banned cutting human flesh, there is some evidence that minor surgeries were

performed.<sup>236</sup> Cauterizing with hot irons or caustic compounds was also practiced, though usually as a last resort as the procedure was sometimes fatal. Both procedures would have produced visible scars.

Visual evidence for surgery is likewise wanting.<sup>237</sup> It has been argued that the grave stele of Xanthippos and his daughters in the British Museum (Figure 3.15) does not represent the deceased holding a model foot reflecting his profession as shoemaker, but rather his own foot, which was amputated or spontaneously detached itself as a result of gangrene or a similar illness.<sup>238</sup>

### *Prosthetics*

The use of prosthetics is attested in the literary sources, though it is difficult to ascertain whether these stories reflect actual practices.<sup>239</sup>

Herodotus claims that Hegesistratus cut off his own foot in order to escape from stocks, after which he used a wooden foot (9.37). Other

mythological stories such as the ivory shoulder of Pelops may reflect the use of ivory in prosthetics, though we cannot be sure. No prosthetic devices have been recovered archaeologically from the Greek period, though a remarkable false leg has been found dating to the Roman period.<sup>240</sup>

Whereas the evidence for prosthetics of the extremities is problematic, we have secure evidence for dental prosthetics from the Greek period. The method of securing loosened teeth to the mandible is described in the Hippocratic treatise *On Joints*: “If the teeth at the point of injury are displaced or loosened, when the bone is adjusted fasten them to one another, not merely the two, but several, preferably with the gold wire, but failing that, with thread, till consolidation takes place” (32). Examples of actual teeth bound with gold wire have been recovered archaeologically, though contextual information is unfortunately lacking.<sup>241</sup>



3.15. Marble grave stele of Xanthippos and his daughters, ca. 420 BCE, British Museum, GR 1805.7–3.183, London. ©Trustees of the British Museum.

### *Piercing*

The recent fashion for both men and women to pierce the ears, eyebrows, nose, lips, navel, and other body parts is quite foreign to ancient practices.<sup>242</sup> In general, piercing was limited to women, and only the earlobes.<sup>243</sup> Many marble sculptures of women and goddesses have holes drilled in the ears for the insertion of metal earrings (now lost).<sup>244</sup> Actual earrings recovered archaeologically are clearly designed to be worn through a perforation in the lobe (see [Chapter 5](#), pp. 145–147 and [Figure 5.10](#)). It is unclear how the disk-style earrings depicted in sculpture and vase painting (e.g., [Figures 3.13, 4.14, 5.19](#)) were affixed to the ear; it is possible that they were wide studs inserted into an enlarged hole in the lobe.<sup>245</sup>

### *Tattooing and Scarification*

*Tattoo* is the Polynesian name for a permanent means of body modification known in many disparate cultures.<sup>246</sup> The process is generally the same: pigment is introduced by means of a small prick in the epidermis; once the skin has healed, the resulting decoration is more or less permanent.<sup>247</sup> In Greece, tattoo was probably employed as early as the Neolithic period.<sup>248</sup> By the historic period, however, tattooing seems to have been reserved exclusively for non-Greeks, especially Thracians.<sup>249</sup>

That tattooing was considered an ethnic marker is clear from Herodotus' assertion that for the Thracians "to be tattooed is a sign of noble birth; to bear no such marks is for the baser sort" (5.6).<sup>250</sup> Later authors confirm this practice, though some identify tattooing specifically with Thracian women.<sup>251</sup> The visual sources likewise depict Thracian women with elaborate tattoos, most frequently in mythological scenes of the death of Orpheus.<sup>252</sup> A red-figure column-*krater* by the Pan Painter depicting two running Thracian women, one with a sword and scabbard ([Figure 3.16](#)), is certainly a reference to the myth, though the victim is not shown. The women are identified as Thracian by their wild, flowing, blond hair (p. 75), their garments (see [Chapter 4](#), pp. 124–126), and the tattoos covering their legs, arms, and necks. The designs are primarily abstract, geometric patterns (dots, chevrons), though a few pictorial designs are discernible (rosettes, deer). Similar designs also mark slaves of Thracian origin, such as the young Herakles' old nurse, Geropso (Old), depicted on a red-figure *skyphos* by the Pistoxenos Painter ([Figure 3.17](#)).<sup>253</sup> Her white, scraggly hair, ugly wrinkled face, bent-over posture, and walking stick identify her as old; her pose likewise reflects her servile status, especially compared to the dynamic, open stance of the sword-wielding murderess in [Figure 3.16](#).<sup>254</sup> Neither figure reflects the ideal of a proper Athenian woman; they are clearly marked as outside that norm.

Other ethnic groups in the ancient Mediterranean employed tattoos for religious purposes, and as punitive markings for criminals, war prisoners, and





3.16. Red-figure column-*krater*, Pan Painter, ca. 470 BCE, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2378, Munich. ©Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München; photograph by Renate Kühling.



3.17. Red-figure *skyphos*, Pistozenos Painter, ca. 480 BCE, Staatliches Museum KG 708, Schwerin. ©bpb, Berlin/Staatliches Museum, Schwerin/Hugo Maertens/Art Resource, NY.

slaves. The Greeks seem to have borrowed penal tattooing from their neighbors, though it is difficult in the visual sources to distinguish punitive tattooing from ethnic markings.<sup>255</sup> The profoundly negative connotations of tattooing are underscored by the representation in vase painting of *Adikia*, the personification of “Injustice,” as an ugly, tattooed woman.<sup>256</sup>

### *Circumcision*

Another barbarian custom according to the Greeks was male circumcision.<sup>257</sup> Herodotus knew it as a practice shared by various ethnic groups in the eastern Mediterranean but identifies it particularly with the Egyptians (2.36; 2.104).<sup>258</sup> The Egyptian rationale for circumcision, according to Herodotus, was that “they set cleanness above seemliness” (2.37). The notion that the circumcised penis was viewed negatively is clear from the depiction of Herakles battling the priests of Bousiris on a red-figure *pelike* by the Pan Painter (Figure 3.18), in which the priests’ large, circumcised genitals are contrasted with Herakles’ petite, uncircumcised penis.<sup>259</sup> As discussed earlier in reference to the binding of the genitals in Greek athletics, the glans was considered unsightly; hence, the uncircumcised penis was preferred. Other vases depict images of slaves and menial workers (including, interestingly, potters) with large, uncircumcised genitals.<sup>260</sup> It is unclear in these cases whether these men are to be understood as foreigners or simply the opposite of the masculine ideal.

### *Head Binding*

Hippocrates describes as an ethnographic curiosity the tribe of *Makrokephaloi* (Longheads), who bound the heads of their newborns to create an elongated shape: “As soon as a child is born they remodel its head with their hands, while it is still soft and the body tender, and force it to increase in length by applying bandages and suitable appliances, which spoil the roundness of the head and increase its length” (*Airs, Waters, Places*, 14). Certainly such practices are known in the modern period throughout Africa; perhaps Hippocrates knew or had been told of a group that employed this form of body modification.

In general, permanent body modifications in ancient Greece were reserved for barbarians and other non-ideal figures. Hence, it may be argued that “the irreversible reshaping of the body and its permanent marking manifest the stable and static character of relations in society.”<sup>261</sup> Bodies permanently marked will never be ideal; hence, the social roles of barbarians and slaves are fixed. As Claude Bérard has noted, “inscribed, painted, tattooed, scarified, or mutilated bodies are not and will never be Greek.”<sup>262</sup> Even among the Greek



3.18. Red-figure *pelike*, Pan Painter, ca. 460 BCE, National Archaeological Museum 9683, Athens. ©Gianni Dagli Orti/The Art Archive at Art Resource, NY.

elite, permanent body modifications reflect permanent social roles: a soldier wounded in battle is forever a hero.

Modifications to the body reflect the organization of Greek society. Elites achieved their identity by the repeated performance of temporary body modifications, but women were subject to greater restrictions.<sup>263</sup> Men exercised and bathed in the public context of the *gymnasion*, for the voyeuristic consumption of other elite men. Women, conversely, were denied this public arena for personal display and were limited in their diet and the use of perfumes and cosmetics.<sup>264</sup> Transformations of the hair were especially meaningful social markers of gender, age, and status: as elite individuals matured into adulthood, their hair became subject to increased social control by means of cutting and binding. Again, women were subjected to additional constraints in the form of depilation of bodily and pubic hair. All these temporary body modifications



required repeated performance by both sexes, allowing infinite opportunities for the (re)construction of elite identity.

Non-elites, especially barbarians, were marked as such by means of permanent body modifications. Only foreigners were tattooed and circumcised, modifications to the body that were irreversible. The permanence of such modifications reflects a rigid social hierarchy in which the “Other” remains permanently outside the norm. The limited repertoire of modifications to non-ideal bodies extends to other dress behaviors as well, as we will see in succeeding chapters.

## GARMENTS

Most studies of ancient Greek “dress” have in fact focused on garments, as opposed to the range of practices described in this study.<sup>1</sup> A garment-centered approach reflects modern Western attitudes toward dress, and does not consider the overall appearance of the dressed individual. As argued in [Chapter 1](#), emphasis on the identification and reconstruction of garments fails to take into account the relationship between the body and dress. The traditional focus on garments is especially problematic for the Greek world because no complete garments survive in the archaeological record, and we must depend on stylized and often schematic representations of garments in sculpture and vase painting to reconstruct their appearance.<sup>2</sup> In addition, the rather rich evidence for garments in the textual sources is often difficult to reconcile with the visual evidence. Finally, we cannot be sure that the garments represented in art or mentioned in literature reflect current types; they may refer to old-fashioned styles, or they may be inventions of the artist or author.<sup>3</sup> Despite such problems, the evidence for Greek garments is extensive, and may be fruitfully analyzed employing current approaches in dress theory.

This chapter begins with an overview of what we know about Greek textiles: the various fibers used, techniques of production, colors and decoration as well as the care of textiles and garments and their monetary value. The next section includes those garments worn closest to the body: swaddling cloths, loincloths, and breast-bands, as well as the primary full-length garments known as *peplos* and *chiton*. The third part is dedicated to mantles of

various types, which comprised the outermost layer of dress, whether worn alone or over other garments. The final section describes selected foreign garments, especially those that acquired special significance in the Greek realm (particularly Athens). It will be seen that, as with modifications to the body, draped Greek garments allowed for myriad opportunities for personal display, while constructed foreign garments constrained the body physically with fitted sleeves and leggings – and visually with bold patterns that marked the barbarian. But while draped Greek garments allowed more physical freedom, they also required the constant attention of the wearer; hence, Greek dress was restrictive in its own way.

#### GREEK TEXTILES

We know a fair amount about the production of Greek textiles, from literary, visual, and archaeological evidence, as well as modern ethnography and experimental archaeology.<sup>4</sup> Textiles and textile production are mentioned frequently by ancient authors.<sup>5</sup> Spinning and weaving are depicted in vase painting and funerary reliefs. Actual fabrics have been recovered archaeologically, as have a great number of loom-weights and spindle-whorls. Several dyeing establishments have been excavated, as well as faunal evidence for shellfish dye. Finally, traditional techniques of spinning and weaving survived in Greece into the twentieth century and are still employed by hobbyists, helping to reconstruct ancient practices.

##### *Extant Textiles and Fibers*

A few precious fragments of textiles have been preserved archaeologically, giving important information as to the fibers and means of manufacture of ancient Greek garments.<sup>6</sup> The earliest known fragments are from the tenth-century “hero shrine” at Lefkandi, where a linen tunic was preserved inside a bronze vessel.<sup>7</sup> A fifth-century BCE grave uncovered in a 1999 rescue excavation in Kalyvia, Attica, produced fragments of textiles with linen warp threads.<sup>8</sup> Although it has often been assumed that linen does not grow well in Greece and was mostly imported,<sup>9</sup> recent paleo-environmental studies have demonstrated that linen was indeed cultivated in several regions.<sup>10</sup> Likewise, a fragment identified as cotton in a fifth-century tomb in Trachones, Attica, may not be of Indian origin as has been assumed, but was perhaps a local product.<sup>11</sup> Textile remains discovered in a fifth-century grave in the Athenian Kerameikos, initially thought to be Chinese silk and later re-identified as domestic wild silk, may in fact be cotton.<sup>12</sup> Almost certainly imported is a late fifth-century linen textile allegedly from Koropi, in Attica, embroidered in a diamond lozenge pattern with inset lions in gold and silver thread.<sup>13</sup> All of these fragments

came from the burials of exceptionally wealthy individuals and represent elite textiles, not the modest, homespun wool used by most.

The question of silk in Greece has been debated for nearly a century. In an effort to explain the fine, often diaphanous, garments depicted in sculpture of the late fifth and early fourth centuries BCE, Gisela Richter looked to the literary sources for evidence of silk in the Classical period.<sup>14</sup> She concluded that a type of wild silk was imported from the Near East through the island of Amorgos, hence the designation “Amorgian” for transparent *chitones* in Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata* (150–151).<sup>15</sup> Amorgos is next to Cos, which Aristotle identifies as the origin of silk manufacture in Greece (*History of Animals*, 5. 19. 551 b. 13–17).<sup>16</sup> Zofia Gansiniec argued that wild silk was imported as finished textiles, which were then unraveled and re-woven to suit Greek tastes.<sup>17</sup> Scientific analysis of extant silk fibers and a cocoon preserved at Thera suggests that they were all produced by a domestic wild moth, which was exploited for textile production perhaps as early as the Bronze Age.<sup>18</sup> A kind of semi-transparent cloth was also produced from the byssus of the shellfish *Pinna nobilis*.<sup>19</sup>

### *Means of Production*

The techniques of spinning and weaving were essentially the same for all fibers.<sup>20</sup> Hundreds of surviving spindle-whorls and loom-weights provide archaeological evidence for the production of yarn and textiles; ceramic *epinetra* were used to protect the knee while drawing out woolen fibers for spinning.<sup>21</sup> All stages of textile production are depicted on Greek vases, most famously on a black-figure *lekythos* by Amasis in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 4.1; see also the loom in Figure 4.23 and spinning woman in Figure 5.16). Spinning also appears in funerary reliefs.<sup>22</sup>

Spinning and weaving are exclusively feminine activities in the iconography.<sup>23</sup> Even when a woman is not shown actively working, textile production is implied by the presence of a *kalathos* (wool basket) in the scene (e.g., Figures 4.13, 5.16, 6.2).<sup>24</sup> Although there is some evidence that men participated in the commercial production of textiles at Athens, the majority of Greek textiles were produced by women within the household.<sup>25</sup> Whether or not elite women were literally responsible for this type of production, or simply overseeing household slaves, it is clear that spinning and weaving, alongside attending to one’s *kosmos*, were associated with the feminine ideal.<sup>26</sup> The fact that women were ideologically connected to the production of textiles is important for the interpretation of garments.

On the other hand, there is some evidence that non-ideal women also participated in textile production. Aside from slaves, who were essential for household production, it has been suggested that *hetairai* were also wool workers. Some spinners depicted on Greek vases have been identified as *hetairai* on the



4.1. Attic black-figure *lekythos*, Amasis Painter, ca. 550–530 BCE, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1931 (31.11.10), New York. ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

basis of their nudity or the presence of men bearing moneybags.<sup>27</sup> Further evidence for sex workers as textile producers is provided by the discovery of more than one hundred loom-weights in a building in the Athenian Kerameikos identified by the excavator as a brothel.<sup>28</sup> Likewise, it has been argued that

small textile frames shown on Greek vases were used by *hetairai* to weave sprang hairnets, which were sold to supplement their regular earnings.<sup>29</sup> The evidence suggests that, as with many other aspects of Greek dress, the ideological association of women and textile production abrogated other distinctions of social class and status.

### *Color and Decoration*

Most Greek garments were uncut and unsewn, preserving the rectangular shape of the textile as it came off the loom.<sup>30</sup> Given the general simplicity of Greek garments, they were primarily distinguished by color and decoration, as well as their arrangement on the body.

Although we tend to think of ancient Greek garments as pure white, there is extensive evidence for a range of colors and hues.<sup>31</sup> The textile fragments from the Kerameikos include pieces with woven red stripes, embroidery with red thread, and a skein of red-dyed thread.<sup>32</sup> Archaeological evidence for dyeing includes several excavated dye-works, as well as floral and faunal evidence for dyes of various colors, especially purple from *murex* shellfish.<sup>33</sup> Purple was particularly expensive to produce, and the literary and epigraphic sources confirm that it conveyed high status.<sup>34</sup> Yellow was produced from saffron as early as the Bronze Age; its particular association with the female life cycle is illustrated by the famous wall paintings from Akrotiri, Thera.<sup>35</sup> The textual sources name garments of a variety of colors, including black, white, yellow, purple, and simply “dark.”<sup>36</sup> A similar range of colors is listed in inventories of clothing dedications to the goddess Artemis at Brauron.<sup>37</sup>

The visual evidence for colored garments is more difficult to decipher. Most red-figure vase painting gives no indication of color (save the implication of color on patterned textiles); black-figure sometimes includes details in added red or white. The white-ground technique, however, displays garments in red, yellow, blue, and black (e.g., Figures 4.21, 7.17), and so-called Kerch-style vases use added pigment such as the pinkish color in Figure 7.11.<sup>38</sup> Likewise, polychromed terra cotta figurines wear garments of red, white, beige, black, green, purple, yellow, and blue.<sup>39</sup> Large-scale sculpture in the round was also polychromed, but unfortunately most of the pigments have been lost to the elements. A few exceptional examples, such as the Archaic *korai* recovered from the Athenian Acropolis, survived with their polychromy mostly intact (e.g., Figures 4.2a, 4.14; cf. Figure 5.8, *kore* “Phrasikleia,” from Attica). Some of the details of the decoration have faded since the time of their discovery. Recent work by Vincenz Brinkmann using various techniques involving ultraviolet light has recovered much that had been lost, with sometimes surprising results.<sup>40</sup>

In addition to plain fabrics in red, yellow, blue, and green, Brinkmann has recovered extensive evidence for the surface decoration of garments. For

(a)



(b)



4.2. “Peplos” kore, ca. 530 BCE, Acropolis Museum 679, Athens. Photo: ©Gianni Dagli Orti/The Art Archive at Art Resource, NY. Color reconstruction by Brinkmann and Brinkmann 2008 (Leibnizpreis O. Primavesi 2007, DFG). ©Stiftung Archäologie. Photographer: Vinzenz Brinkmann.

example, the so-called Peplos kore (Figure 4.2b) wears several garments in yellow with scattered four-petal rosettes or crosses and patterned borders over an elaborately decorated garment with friezes of animals, hybrid creatures, and riders in multiple colors.<sup>41</sup> Patterned textiles are represented in early black-figure vase painting, as for example in Figures 4.1 and 5.3.<sup>42</sup> Patterning is less prevalent in red-figure painting, owing to the increased artistic interest in the body and the relationship of the body to dress, including transparent textiles (though see Figures 7.2 and 7.14, which show highly patterned garments in ritual contexts).<sup>43</sup> The Brauron clothing catalogues provide evidence for inscribed garments, which would have been decorative as well as functional, recording the name of the owner.<sup>44</sup>

It is often not possible to determine the means of decoration from artistic representations. But given what is known about techniques of textile production in ancient Greece, it is possible to speculate with a fair degree of accuracy. Because linen is notoriously difficult to dye owing to its cellular



structure, most colored garments were likely made of other fibers, especially wool.<sup>45</sup> Surface decoration was probably woven rather than embroidered, since embroidery was not a native Greek technique.<sup>46</sup> Decorative gold foil attachments, which would have been stitched onto garments, have been preserved archaeologically.<sup>47</sup> It is also possible that surface decoration was painted on, or the product of resist dyeing, as on the Greek textiles found at Kerch in the Ukraine.<sup>48</sup> Patterned borders (e.g., [Figure 7.15](#)), often identified as *paruphe*, are easily woven as heading bands on the warp-weighted loom and need not have been made separately and applied.<sup>49</sup> The selvedge that is the natural “self-edge” of textiles woven on the warp-weighted loom is often articulated with a crinkly “pie-crust” effect in marble sculpture of the Classical period, though it is rare in other periods and media.<sup>50</sup> Tassels, which represent the tied-off ends of the heading band, are frequently depicted in both sculpture and vase painting of the Archaic and Classical periods (e.g., [Figures 4.20, 5.17, 6.7, 7.15](#)).<sup>51</sup> Fully fringed garments, however, are rare in the visual and literary sources prior to the Hellenistic period and seem to have been Near Eastern in origin.<sup>52</sup>

An important decorative element in the visual sources is pleating.<sup>53</sup> The degree to which closely spaced folds reflect the actual appearance of ancient garments, or are the product of period style, or artistic license, is debatable.<sup>54</sup> Most of the arguments for pleating are based on the appearance of the delicate, linear, often stylized folds that are a hallmark of Archaic sculpture and vase painting. (Good examples are [Figures 4.12, 4.13, 4.14, 4.18](#); also [Figure 4.16](#).) Whether these are the result of simply gathering fine cloth, as an Indian sari is folded, for example, or fixing pleats by means of sewing or some kind of adhesive, is unknown.<sup>55</sup> Pleated linen garments were produced in Egypt as early as 3000 BCE,<sup>56</sup> though it is unclear how they were produced or whether similar techniques were employed in Greece. Small folds created by dress fasteners such as brooches or buttons are convincingly rendered on many garments of both the Archaic and Classical periods.<sup>57</sup>

### *Care of Garments*

Because the production of garments was extremely labor intensive (hence their high value, discussed later), their preservation would have been ensured by proper maintenance.<sup>58</sup> There is less evidence for laundering in Archaic and Classical Greece than for the Roman world.<sup>59</sup> A few vase paintings (e.g., [Figure 3.4](#)) depict undressed women holding their garments rolled up into a ball, perhaps in preparation for washing them (and/or themselves) in a laver. On the other hand, such bundles of cloth appear in nuptial scenes, where they have been interpreted as bridal garments.<sup>60</sup> In either case, rolled or

bundled garments would not have left press marks, which appear in Greek sculpture of the Classical period.<sup>61</sup> The presence of press marks suggests the wealth of the wearer, who apparently owned multiple garments folded in storage.<sup>62</sup> The status of an individual would have been conveyed also by the scent of perfumed garments.<sup>63</sup> Treatment of garments with incense or scented oil was part of the Anthesteria festival at Athens (see [Figure 7.14](#)).<sup>64</sup> Such scents might also have served as a means of pest control for stored garments.<sup>65</sup>

Garments in poor condition generally reflected low status or difficult circumstances. Although ragged garments are rarely shown in the visual sources, they are a frequent dramatic trope signaling characters down on their luck.<sup>66</sup> The inclusion of *rhakoi* in the Brauronion inventories likely represents older dedications that had become tattered, not menstrual rags, as once argued.<sup>67</sup> The evidence for “hand-me-down” garments is lacking, though it seems likely that slaves would not have owned new garments, but household cast-offs. Textiles no longer useful as garments would have been re-purposed as rags, bandages, and the like.

### *Value of Garments*

Although ready access to cheap, factory-made clothing is the norm in the modern system of international dress, in antiquity garments were quite valuable. As described, the production of textiles was extremely labor intensive. And although good quality garments could be woven from relatively inexpensive domestically produced wool, imported fibers and dyes, and decorative elements such as metallic thread, would increase the cost exponentially.<sup>68</sup> The monetary value of garments is indicated by the fact that they were restricted in particular social contexts, especially sanctuaries, and were considered worthy of stealing.<sup>69</sup> Finally, garments and gold jewelry comprised a bride’s *paraphernalia*, which were given to her by her natal family, and over which she retained exclusive control in her marriage.<sup>70</sup>

Although most garments were made within the household for domestic use, several ancient authors indicate that garments were sometimes purchased in the marketplace.<sup>71</sup> Raw materials such as flax, and even spun wool, could also be bought in the agora.<sup>72</sup> Imported garments, of course, would always have been purchased.<sup>73</sup> The market for textiles would have provided the women who made them a means of supporting themselves.

The following sections analyze individual garment types according to their proximity to the body: first *endumata* (undergarments), then *epiblemata* (overgarments), and finally foreign garment types. It must be stressed that the conventional names for garments do not necessarily correspond to the terms used

in antiquity. More than 300 words for garments survive in classical literature, of which only a handful has been identified in the visual sources.<sup>74</sup> We cannot be confident that our identifications are correct in every case.<sup>75</sup> Conversely, some garments represented in the visual sources cannot be identified by their ancient names. The conventional typology and terminology are employed here purely for convenience.<sup>76</sup>

### ENDUMATA

*Endumata* are literally undergarments, that is, the first layer of garments worn directly on the body. Some *endumata*, such as the *chiton*, were worn underneath *epiblemata* or *periblemata* (see pp. 113–120). Others, such as the *peplos*, could be worn alone. We begin with the first garments worn by Greek infants, then consider the evidence for underwear in the modern sense. The rest of this section is given over to the two primary types of *endumata*: the *peplos* and *chiton*.

### Spargana

Although most Greek babies are depicted nude so as to display the sex of the child, a few images survive of swaddled infants, including a late Classical terra cotta figurine from the Piraeus (Figure 4.3).<sup>77</sup> Swaddling cloths, or *spargana*, were used at Athens and several other cities except Sparta. According to Plato (*Laws*, 7.789), infants were swaddled in order to help their limbs develop properly. Although it has been suggested that *spargana* would also have served as diapers,<sup>78</sup> the reverse of the Piraeus figurine makes such an interpretation less secure(!). It seems likely that special cloths were woven specifically for use as *spargana*, presumably by the expectant mother. In Euripides' *Ion*, Kreousa recognizes her grown son, whom she had abandoned years before, by the weaving she had made as a girl.<sup>79</sup> It is possible that *spargana* were part of the bride's trousseau, which included textiles of various types representing several years' work.<sup>80</sup>



4.3. Terra cotta figurine from the sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia, late fourth century BCE, Archaeological Museum of Piraeus, 5383. ©26th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports.

### *Diazoma/Perizoma*

Undergarments are notoriously difficult to discern in the visual sources. Since they are, by definition, worn underneath other garments, they would generally be hidden from view. On the other hand, figures wearing open garments, or garments of diaphanous or transparent cloth, do not appear to be wearing anything underneath (e.g., [Figures 4.12](#), *hetaira*; 4.16, charioteer; 6.9, portrait of the painter Euphronios; [Figure 7.11](#), personification of *Pompe*).<sup>81</sup> It is entirely possible that the Greeks wore nothing akin to modern underwear beneath their garments, as has been argued for the Romans.<sup>82</sup>

According to Thucydides, the Greeks did at one time wear loincloths (*diazomata*) during athletic competition, but that following the model of the Lacedaemonians, they began to compete nude:

And they [the Lacedaemonians] were the first to bare their bodies and, after stripping openly, to anoint themselves with oil when they engaged in athletic exercise; for in early times, even in the Olympic games, the athletes wore loin-cloths (*diazomata*) about their loins in the contests, and it is not many years since the practice has ceased. Indeed, even now among some of the Barbarians, especially those of Asia, where prizes for wrestling and boxing are offered, the contestants wear loin-cloths. (*Histories*, 1.6.5)<sup>83</sup>

Loincloths and “briefs” do appear in Greek art in exceptional circumstances. A number of vases by the Perizoma Group depict athletes wearing a sort of diaper-like arrangement in added white. These were found exclusively in Etruria and seem to represent an effort by Athenian artists to cater to an Etruscan clientele, which would support Thucydides’ statement that only barbarians wore *diazomata* during athletic competition.<sup>84</sup> A different garment, more like modern briefs, is worn by Greek female athletes, acrobats, and dancers in sculpture and vase painting. Andrew Stewart has catalogued fourteen Archaic and Early Classical bronzes depicting topless girls wearing briefs.<sup>85</sup> Several female dancers and athletes on Attic vases wear a garment that may ultimately derive from costumes used in satyr plays.<sup>86</sup> The mythological female athlete Atalante wears a similar garment in several vase paintings.<sup>87</sup> None of these examples reflect regular “everyday” dress for Greek women.

### *Strophion*

As with the *diazoma* or *perizoma*, evidence for the *strophion* as a breast-band is difficult to decipher.<sup>88</sup> The literary evidence suggests that women bound their breasts with the *strophion*, which had erotic connotations. In Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata*, Myrrhine withholds sex from her husband, taunting him: “I’m just getting my



4.4. Red-figure hydria, Group of London E230, ca. 370–350 BCE, British Museum E230, London. ©Trustees of the British Museum.

*strophion* off” (931). The specifically feminine character of the garment is emphasized in *Women at the Thesmophoria*, in which the *strophion* is contrasted with the masculine *lekythos* (oil flask). When the Kinsman cross-dresses in an attempt to “pass” as a woman, he mistakenly puts on the *strophion* over the *krokotos* (saffron-dyed dress), to comic effect (249–256).<sup>89</sup> His true identity is revealed when the *strophion* is removed, revealing the wrong type of breasts (638–640).<sup>90</sup>

The visual evidence for the *strophion* is sparse. Most representations of women in sculpture and vase painting do not indicate a breast-band of any type. Diaphanous garments reveal the shape of the breast, and sometimes the nipple, without any covering (e.g., Figure 4.12).<sup>91</sup> When the breasts are exposed, especially in scenes of sexual violence (e.g., Figures 6.5 and 6.6), no breast-band is indicated.<sup>92</sup> The solitary example of the *strophion* worn underneath clothing is a fourth-century Attic hydria in the British Museum (Figure 4.4) depicting a woman, or perhaps Aphrodite, (un)dressing in the presence of two female attendants, Eros, and a satyr – an extraordinary scene to be sure. This type of flat, undecorated, band becomes increasingly popular in Hellenistic and Roman art, in erotic scenes and images of Aphrodite.<sup>93</sup>

A different type of covering for the breasts is found in fifth-century vase painting, especially images of Atalante, the mythological female athlete. In addition to a *diazoma*, she often wears a vest-type garment with shoulder straps resembling a modern sports bra.<sup>94</sup> This garment may have been invented by the artist to represent the “impossible female athlete”; none of the Laconian bronzes depicting maiden athletes or performers show such a garment.<sup>95</sup> Another artist dresses Atalante in an apparently unique “peek-a-boo” brassière.<sup>96</sup>

Mortal women who wear breast-bands are generally dancers and entertainers.<sup>97</sup> These are flat bands like the *strophion* in Figure 4.4, but decorated with woven or embroidered patterns and held in place with narrow straps that cross over the chest.<sup>98</sup> Like the breast coverings worn by Atalante, these were not intended to be worn beneath other garments but comprise a special costume in themselves.

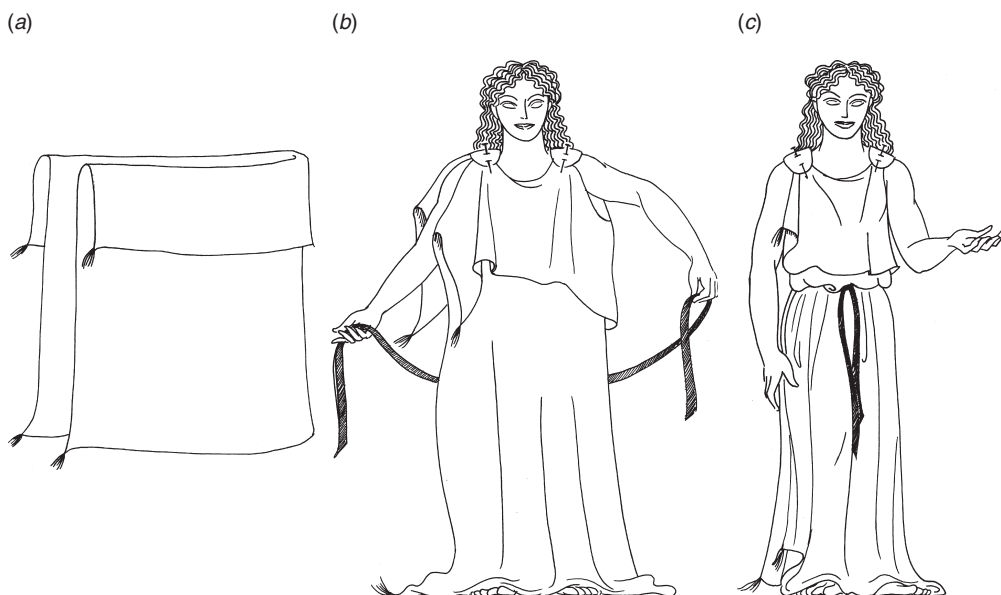
Our understanding of the *strophion* is dependent on the significance of the breasts in ancient Greek society. Although women’s breasts are strongly sexualized in modern Western culture, they were less so in ancient Greece. In Greek erotic literature the eyes and hair play a more prominent role than breasts. Small, firm, round breasts were admired; they are often compared to apples or other fruits.<sup>99</sup> Baring the breasts in nonsexual contexts evoked pity, especially the pity of a grown son at the sight of his mother’s breasts that suckled him as a child (e.g., Aeschylus, *Choephoroi*, 896–897, an allusion to Homer, *Iliad*, 22.79–83).<sup>100</sup> Women also beat their breasts in lamentation for the dead.<sup>101</sup> In general, breasts should be properly covered. Breasts revealed as a result of the disarray of one’s dress was especially egregious.<sup>102</sup> The tattooed Thracian in Figure 3.16 is clearly not a proper woman, not least because her breasts are revealed through the open armholes of her garment.

### *Peplos*

The *peplos* (plural: *peploi*) is conventionally identified as a rectangular piece of woolen cloth draped around the body and suspended from the shoulders by means of pins (Figure 4.5a,b).<sup>103</sup> The open vertical edges are sometimes sewn together to create a kind of tube, but generally they are left open.<sup>104</sup> The top section could be folded double to create the over-fold, often wrongly called *apoptygma*.<sup>105</sup> The *peplos* could be girded with a *zone* (belt) tied under or over the over-fold.<sup>106</sup> The blousing of the fabric pulled over the *zone* is called, probably incorrectly, *kolpos*.<sup>107</sup>

It seems likely that the *peplos* was worn by the earliest inhabitants of Greece.<sup>108</sup> It is named in Homer as the primary garment of women and goddesses.<sup>109</sup> Although Geometric vase painting is not sufficiently detailed to identify the type of garments worn by the female figures, a few early black-figure vases do depict garments identifiable as *peploi*: several mythological





4. 5. Diagram of the arrangement of the *peplos*. Drawing by Glynnis Fawkes.

females on the François vase wear garments with elaborate surface decoration that are clearly pinned at the shoulders (Figure 5.3).<sup>110</sup> Dress pins are preserved throughout Greece from the eighth and seventh centuries BCE, in funerary contexts and as votives in sanctuaries.<sup>111</sup> Dress pins disappear from the archaeological record at around the same time there is a discernible change in the visual record from the *peplos* to the *chiton* (see pp. 106–110). This change has traditionally been explained by the famous story of Herodotus, in which the women of Athens attack the sole survivor of a disastrous military expedition to Aegina:

Even the one man, say the Athenians, did not survive finally but ended in the following way. He came back to Athens and told what had happened, and the womenfolk of the Athenian men who had fought against Aegina, furious that he alone of all should have escaped, encircled the man and stabbed him with the *peronai* with which they fastened their *himatia*, each one asking him, “Where is my man?”

So he too died; and to the Athenians this deed of the women seemed even worse than the defeat itself. They could think of no way to punish the women but to change their *estheta* (dress) to the Ionian mode; for before this the Athenian women wore *estheta* of the Dorian fashion, which is very like that of Corinth. The Athenians now changed this into a linen *chiton*, that the women might use no pins. In truth, this women’s *esthes* (dress) was not originally Ionian but Carian, for in Greece all the older sort of women’s *esthes* was what we now call Dorian. (5.87–88)<sup>112</sup>

The story is likely an apocryphal folktale explaining real changes in women's dress at Athens in the sixth century or earlier.<sup>113</sup> Whether or not the *himatia* and *estheta* mentioned by Herodotus can be identified with the garment we know as *peplos* is not certain. Although it is assumed that the earlier garment was made of wool, this is not explicitly stated in the passage. It is also unclear to what degree the testimony of Herodotus is applicable to other parts of Greece, though the change from *peplos* to *chiton* in the Greek art is broadly Panhellenic.<sup>114</sup>

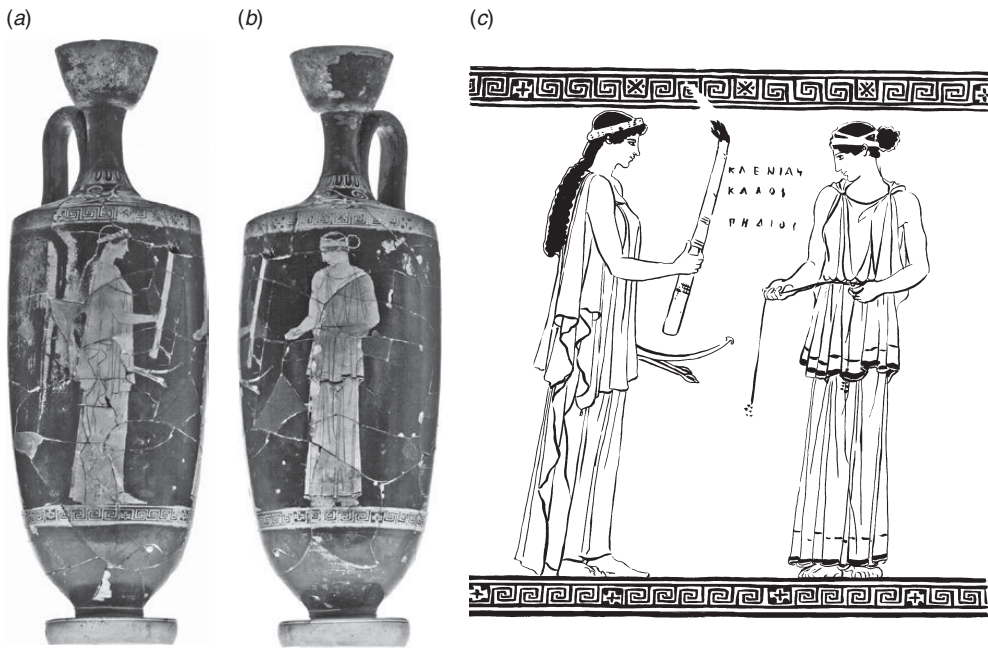
The *peplos* reappears in the visual record in the years following the Persian Wars, around 480 BCE.<sup>115</sup> The artistic rejection of the *chiton* in favor of the old-fashioned *peplos* was traditionally interpreted as reflecting a real change in women's dress due to anti-Eastern sentiment in the years following the wars.<sup>116</sup> At Athens, the adoption of the *peplos* has also been associated with Thucydides' statement (*Histories*, 1.6.3–5) that in the early fifth century BCE Athenian men stopped wearing the luxurious Ionian *chiton* in favor of the more modest dress of the Dorian Lacedaemonians. But although the *peplos* reappears in the visual sources, pins remain absent in the archaeological record.<sup>117</sup> Perhaps not sur-

prisingly, the lappets of most Classical *peploi* appear to be sewn rather than pinned together (e.g., Figure 5.22). Given the fact that most of the visual images can be identified as representing mythological characters and divinities (e.g., Figure 5.12), it may be that the *peplos* was resurrected for iconographic purposes as a “historic” garment with connotations of the mythological past.<sup>118</sup> It is also possible that the garment survived, or was re-invented, for ritual purposes, in particular the Panathenaia at Athens.<sup>119</sup>

Visual representations of the *peplos* generally depict the garment as a piece of heavy cloth that obscures the form of the female body underneath (though there were some exceptions). For example, Figure 4.6 depicts an adult woman, most likely Hippodameia, from the myth of Pelops and Oinomaos on the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. The early Classical “Severe” style



4.6. Figure K, east pediment, temple of Zeus at Olympia, ca. 460 BCE. ©Art Resource, NY.

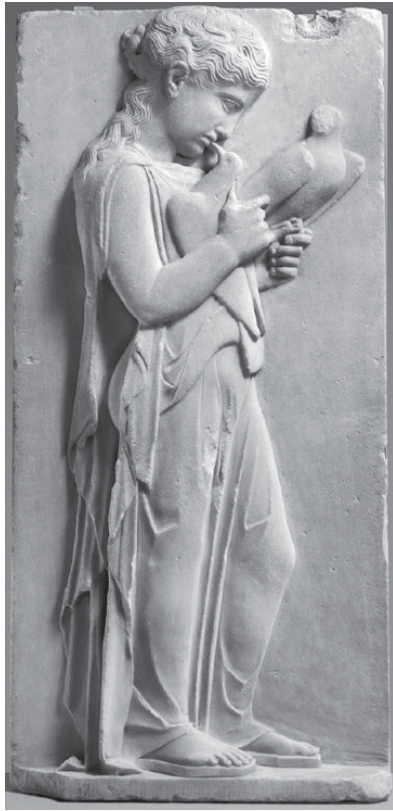


4.7. Red-figure *lekythos*, Achilles Painter, ca. mid-fifth cent. BCE, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi 21186, Syracuse. Photo by permission of the Assessorato Beni Culturali e dell'Identità Siciliana della Regione Sicilia. Drawing by Glynnis Fawkes.

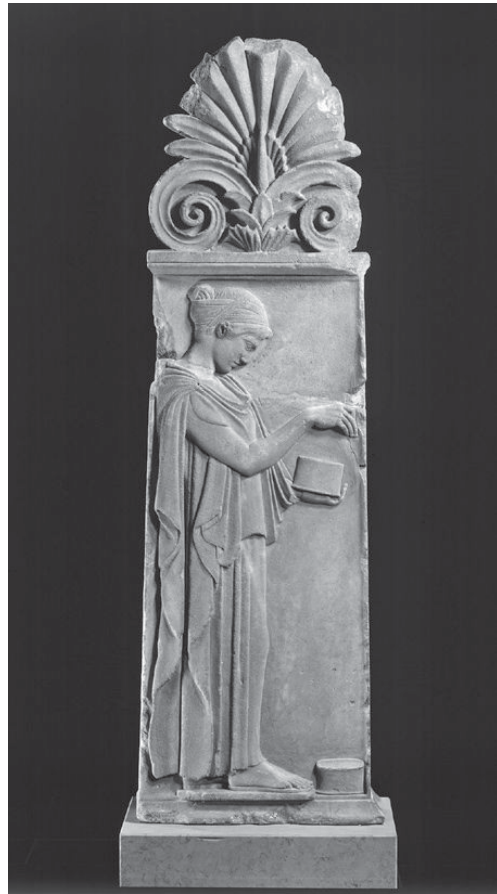
drapery falls in thick folds, the breasts and right leg barely indicated beneath the cloth.<sup>120</sup> The artist seems to deliberately hide the body underneath the drapery. Indeed, it has been observed that the front and back of Early Classical *peploghoro*i (*peplos* wearers) are nearly indistinguishable.<sup>121</sup>

There are two primary methods of girding the *peplos*.<sup>122</sup> In the so-called Argive type, the garment is belted under the over-fold, as in Figure 4.6; this hidden *zone* usually identifies married women. The Attic type is girded over the over-fold, creating more of an hourglass appearance. The over-girded *peplos* is generally reserved for images of virgin goddesses, such as Artemis and Athena (also the *Nike* in Figure 7.15), and is worn by the young maiden (but not Artemis) in Figure 4.7.<sup>123</sup> A few *peploghoro*i display more than one *zone*: the kneeling figure O from the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia is girded both under and over the over-fold; a Classical bronze statuette in the Louvre (Figure 5.15) displays two *kolpoi* under her uplifted over-fold, suggesting two *zonai*.<sup>124</sup> Finally, starting in the fourth century, some *parthenoi* wear over-girded *peploi* with thin bands crossed over the chest, emphasizing their budding breasts, as seen in the grave stele of Theophile (Figure 7.3).<sup>125</sup>

Young girls are represented in early Classical sculpture wearing ungirded *peploi*, reflecting their “untamed” nature.<sup>126</sup> On the celebrated grave stele for a



4.8. Marble grave stele of a girl, ca. 450–440 BCE, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1927 (27.45), New York. ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



4.9. Marble grave stele of a young woman (“Giustiniani stele”), ca. 460–450 BCE, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung 1482, Berlin. ©bpk, Berlin/Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Germany/Juergen Liepe/Art Resource, NY.

young girl in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 4.8), the deceased wears an open *peplos* that reveals her buttocks.<sup>127</sup> The garment is far too large for her and drags on the ground; she will not grow into it as her bereaved parents had hoped.<sup>128</sup> The older maiden in the so-called Giustiniani Stele in Berlin (Figure 4.9) wears a *peplos* of an appropriate length, and although the garment is ungirded, it falls decorously down the right side of her body, revealing little of the body underneath.<sup>129</sup> She is nearing the potentially dangerous status of *parthenos* and requires more modest attire.<sup>130</sup>

Although Greek sculptors generally depict the *peplos* as made of thick, presumably woolen, cloth, some Classical vase painters render it as diaphanous (e.g., Figures 4.10, 5.23, 7.15).<sup>131</sup> This may be an artistic convention to indicate the fine quality of the cloth, or to emphasize the sexual desirability



4.10. Red-figure *stamnos*, side A, Kleophon Painter, ca. 450–400 BCE, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2415, Munich. ©Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München; photograph by Renate Kühling.

of the woman.<sup>132</sup> In general, the dichotomy between woolen *peplos* and linen *chiton* that distinguishes the Archaic and Early Classical periods becomes less strict by the later fifth century. This is especially true in vase painting, where *peplos* and *chiton* appear in the same narrative contexts, and styles seem to be conflated.<sup>133</sup> It is also interesting to note that dress fasteners, which are essential to the arrangement of the *peplos*, are rarely depicted in Classical sculpture and vase painting, calling into question the historicity of the garment in the fifth century.<sup>134</sup>

Despite the fixed arrangement of the traditional *peplos*, it could be manipulated depending on context. Women sometimes grasp the edge of the over-fold for use as a veil (e.g., Figures 4.6, 4.10).<sup>135</sup> A few images show the over-fold lifted completely over the head (e.g., Figure 5.15).<sup>136</sup> Whether this gesture should be interpreted as the bridal *anakalypsis* or as a reflection of modesty in the presence of a strange man remains unclear.<sup>137</sup> The general modesty of the *peplos* gives special impact to images in which the garment has become



unfastened, especially in scenes of sexual violation, as on the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (Figure 6.5) and the temple of Apollo at Bassae (Figure 6.6).<sup>138</sup> On the other hand, the ease with which the garment could be unpinned may have made it especially effective for breast-feeding, as has been suggested for the traditional Bedouin women's dress, which is identical to the ancient Greek *peplos*.<sup>139</sup>

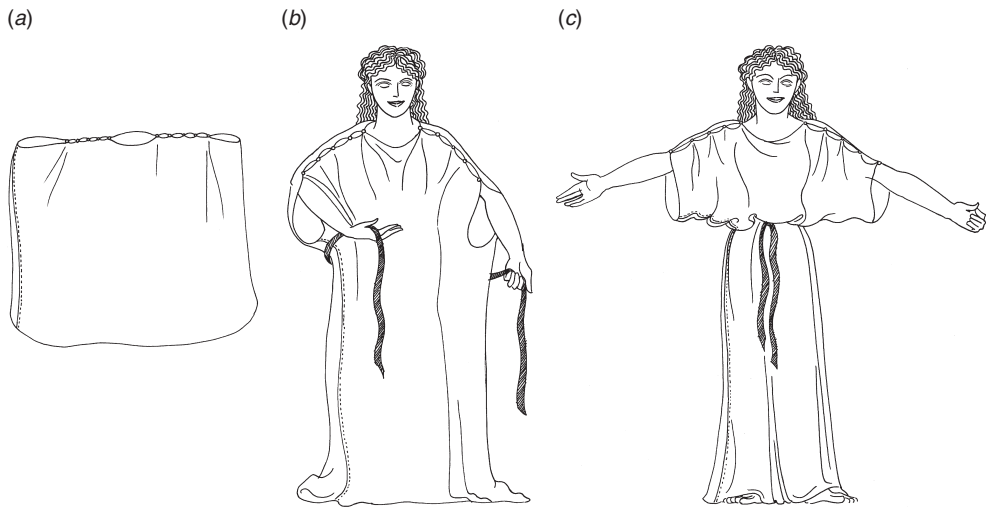
Although the historicity of the *peplos* in all periods cannot be firmly established, its significance can be interpreted from the iconographic evidence.<sup>140</sup> The *peplos* is worn by Pandora, the first Greek maiden, in several images depicting her adornment by Athena (e.g., Figure 2.1), as described by Hesiod (see Chapter 2, pp. 34–35). As noted by one scholar, “this robe, the first *peplos* [his emphasis], might have been understood in the widest sense of the word as the archetypal *peplos*, given by Athena to the primordial woman.... Thus the *peplos* of Pandora could have represented the mythical pattern or prototype for all the *peploi* in the world.”<sup>141</sup> The negative connotations of Pandora as the bringer of evil into the world extended to all *parthenoi*, whose liminal status as sexually mature but unmarried was equally dangerous. The heavy woolen *peplos* had the effect of obscuring the form of the mature female body, effectively negating her sexuality. In particular, the breasts were covered with two layers of thick fabric. The notion of control over women's bodies is emphasized by the presence of girding, especially the highly visible over-girding. Whether or not the *peplos* was worn as everyday dress, or was reserved for ritual, it retained such ideas in idealized images of *peplophoroi* throughout the Classical period, in both sculpture and vase painting.<sup>142</sup>

The *peplos* is decidedly a feminine garment, with strong connotations of protection and containment. I know of only one male figure in Greek art that (perhaps) wears the *peplos*.<sup>143</sup> This is an Early Classical bronze statuette from Oichalia, Euboia (now, unfortunately, lost), depicting the river god Acheloös. As I have demonstrated elsewhere, the transvestism of this figure reflects a concern to control the unpredictable, sometimes destructive capacities, of Acheloös, in order to secure fertility and abundance.<sup>144</sup>

### *Chiton*

The *chiton* (plural: *chitones*) is generally understood as a full-length, sleeved garment made of linen.<sup>145</sup> One or two pieces of fabric were sewn together to make a tube, which was slipped over the head; sleeves were formed by means of buttons attached at intervals along the top edge of the garment (Figures 4.11, 4.12, 4.14, 4.18; cf. Figure 5.19), or by sewing.<sup>146</sup> The *chiton*, like the *peplos*, could be belted with a *zone* (Figures 4.12, 4.13b).<sup>147</sup> Compared to the broad, thick folds of the woolen *peplos*, the linen *chiton* is generally represented with thin, closely spaced folds (Figures 4.12, 4.13, 4.21, 4.25, 5.19, 7.8), though some early examples are not so clearly rendered (e.g., Figure 5.8; discussed later in the





4.11. Diagram of the arrangement of the *chiton*. Drawing by Glynnis Fawkes.



4.12. Tondo of red-figure *kylix*, Manner of Onesimos, 500–490 BCE, British Museum E44, London. ©Trustees of the British Museum.

chapter).<sup>148</sup> The typical *chiton* extends to the feet (*chiton poderes*), although some variations are shorter.

The *chiton* was likely a foreign garment that was adopted in Greece during the Bronze Age.<sup>149</sup> The word *chiton* has a Semitic root, suggesting an Eastern origin. Both *chiton* (*ki-to*) and linen (*ri-no*) appear in the Linear B tablets.<sup>150</sup>



4.13. Red-figure *alabastron*, unattributed, ca. 480–470 BCE, British Museum E719, London. ©Trustees of the British Museum.

In the historical period, both the literary and the visual sources associate the *chiton* with the East. Herodotus (5. 88; see p. 101) identifies the linen *chiton* as Ionian, but originally from Caria. In sculpture and vase painting, the *chiton* is worn by Dionysos, signifying his Eastern origin, and by Greek men emulating Easterners (e.g., Figure 7.13).<sup>151</sup> That the *chiton* had connotations of luxury is clear from Thucydides' comment that the Athenians were the first to take up a more luxurious way of life, and that "only recently" had wealthy, older men given up the linen *chiton* and golden *tettix* (cicada) with which they fastened their hair (*Histories*, 1.6.3–5).<sup>152</sup>

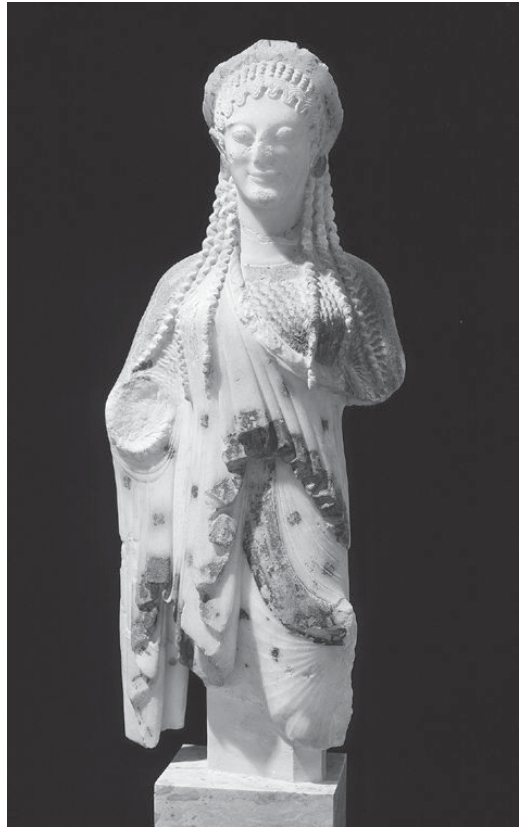
The *chiton* seems to have been worn by both sexes, but not in every period. It is worn exclusively by men in Homer, but by the fifth century, according to Thucydides, it was rejected by the Athenians in favor of more "moderate clothes," like those worn by the Spartans (*Histories*, 1.6.4).<sup>153</sup> This change is confirmed by the visual evidence. Before the middle of the sixth century BCE, male figures (except the nude *kouroi*; see Chapter 6) are generally represented wearing the *chiton*, usually in combination with the *himation* (discussed later).<sup>154</sup> But starting in the later part of the century, most men wear only the

*himation*, and the long *chiton* is reserved for wealthy older men (e.g., the father of the bride in Figure 7.8), priests, and important mythological and historical figures, especially Eastern kings such as Priam and Croesus.<sup>155</sup> Anne Geddes attributes this change to an Athenian rejection of Eastern luxury, together with the development of the Athenian democracy and notions of social equality.<sup>156</sup>

According to the testimony of Herodotus (p. 101), Athenian women adopted the *chiton* at the beginning of the Archaic period. This change is also confirmed by the visual record, in which women wear the *chiton*, often with the *himation*, from the early Archaic through the Hellenistic period (e.g., Figures 4.14, 4.17, 4.18, 4.22, 4.23, 4.25, 7.8).<sup>157</sup> The archaeological evidence suggests that women never gave up wearing the *chiton*, since pins remain absent in the early Classical period.<sup>158</sup>

And, indeed, although female figures in early Classical sculpture are generally *peplophoroi*, *chitones* persist in vase painting throughout the early fifth century. Likewise, women's garments are regularly identified as *chitones* in the plays of Aristophanes, which reflect actual social practices to a greater degree than in other authors.<sup>159</sup> That Athenian women did not give up the *chiton* like the men reflects the long association between luxury and femininity, as well as the exclusion of women from the democracy.

Most discussions of the *chiton* focus on its appearance on female figures in sculpture and vase painting. Artists of the late Archaic and Classical periods go to great pains to render the small, closely spaced, wavy folds of the garment, in contrast to the broad, flat, linear folds of the woolen *himation*, as seen on the so-called Chiot kore from the Athenian Acropolis (Figure 4.14; also in vase painting: Figures 4.17, 4.18, 4.23, 7.8).<sup>160</sup> But the identification of the *chiton* in earlier sculpture is more difficult. For example, the garment worn by Phrasikleia (Figure 5.8) has the structure of a sleeved *chiton*, but it is rendered without folds, making it appear to be made of wool.<sup>161</sup> A further complication is the preserved polychromy on sculpture: although



4.14. "Chiot" kore, ca. 525–500 BCE, Acropolis Museum 675, Athens. ©Gianni Dagli Orti/The Art Archive at Art Resource, NY.

the *chiton* of the Chiot kore is painted blue, and that of Phrasikleia is red, linen is a notoriously difficult fiber to dye.<sup>162</sup> Are the colored garments fanciful additions by the artist, or do they reflect the appearance of actual garments?

The problem of artistic inventiveness is especially evident in Classical sculpture and vase painting, in which the rendering of the *chiton* is often conflated with the *peplos*.<sup>163</sup> For example, garments with the structure of *peploi* are often depicted with closely spaced folds suggesting linen (e.g., the mother of the groom in [Figure 7.8](#)).<sup>164</sup> The exclusivity of the *chiton* and *peplos* implied in the passage of Herodotus is not reflected in the visual record. For example, the maidens on the south side of the east Parthenon frieze wear *chitones* underneath their *peploi*, as does the figure of Timarista in [Figure 7.18](#).<sup>165</sup> As discussed, it seems likely that by the Classical period the *peplos* was worn as ceremonial garb over the *chiton*, which remained the primary garment for women through the Hellenistic period.

The floor-length *chiton* connoted luxury. It was imported from the East, and was worn (in Athens, at least) by wealthy older men even after younger men abandoned the garment. That women retained the long *chiton* throughout the Archaic and Classical periods reflects the conflation of categories of woman/old man/barbarian discussed in [Chapter 2](#). Hans van Wees has argued that the adoption of the *chiton* by Greek women in the Archaic period demonstrated a move away from the conspicuous display of ornate *peploi* described in Homer.<sup>166</sup> But as Geddes notes, the *chiton* conveyed status in a different way: it was particularly unsuitable for work, since it was voluminous and prone to tangle, and the sleeves impeded movement of the arms and hands; in addition, the white linen would have been difficult to keep clean.<sup>167</sup> The *chiton* was a garment of leisure.

### *Variations of the Chiton*

Variations of the *chiton* were adopted for specialized purposes. The *chitoniskos* and *exomis* are shortened versions of the floor-length *chiton*; the *exomis* and *xystis* are sleeveless varieties. All three are more practical than the typical *chiton* for physical movement.<sup>168</sup>

#### *Chitoniskos*

The *chitoniskos* (“little *chiton*”; plural: *chitoniskoi*) seems to have developed in the middle of the sixth century as part of broader developments in military attire. As can be seen on a red-figure *amphora* by Euthymides depicting Thorykion arming between Scythian archers, the *chitoniskos* was a shortened version of the *chiton* worn underneath the cuirass ([Figure 4.15](#)). Extending only to the upper thigh, and with shortened sleeves, it provided freedom





4.15. Red-figure *amphora*, Euthymides, ca. 500 BCE, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2308, Munich. ©Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München; photograph by Renate Kühling.

of movement for the limbs, as well as protection against chafing from the leather cuirass.<sup>169</sup> Although some have suggested that men wore the *chitoniskos* as everyday garb underneath the *himation*,<sup>170</sup> the visual evidence is lacking.<sup>171</sup>

The practicality of this garment explains, in part, its appearance on images of active females. The virgin huntress goddess Artemis often wears a *chitoniskos*, as do Atalante and the Amazons.<sup>172</sup> Mortal *parthenoi* wear *chitoniskoi* in initiation rites, especially the Arkteia.<sup>173</sup> Finally, the *chitoniskos* is worn by female entertainers, especially dancers.<sup>174</sup> Except for representations of the Amazons, the military connotations of the men's *chitoniskos* do not seem to carry over to the images of young females. Rather, the emphasis seems to be on the ease of movement provided by this shortened garment, and the display of the virginal female body.<sup>175</sup> The *chitoniskos* therefore represents a reversal of roles for proper females, whose bodies are generally covered from neck to feet in multiple layers of garments.<sup>176</sup> Female wearers of the *chitoniskos* are outside the proper social order, whether temporarily, as in the case of female initiation rites, or by definition, as with the Amazons.<sup>177</sup>

### *Exomis*

The *exomis* is similar in structure to the *chitoniskos* but is worn only over one shoulder, typically the left, to facilitate movement of the opposite arm.<sup>178</sup> It is the typical garment of male workers, especially craftsmen, and warriors.<sup>179</sup> Unlike the *chitoniskos*, it is generally belted in order to allow the wearer to hitch up the fabric and shorten the garment.<sup>180</sup> The worker's *exomis* sometimes has the appearance of linen, other times wool. It is quite possible that the *exomis* comprised a "secondhand" garment, since it seems unlikely that a newly woven textile would be worn by lowly workers. Perhaps a *chiton* or *himation* that was showing signs of wear would be cut down to make the *exomis* worn by laborers. Female workers do not wear the *exomis* but, like the *chitoniskos*, it is employed in female initiation rituals, especially the Heraia at Olympia (Figure 7.1).<sup>181</sup>



4.16. Motya charioteer, fifth century BCE, Villa Whittaker, Motya, Sicily. Photo by permission of Assessorato dei Beni Culturali e della Identità Siciliana-Servizio Parco archeologico ed ambientale presso le isole dello Stagnone e delle aree archeologiche di Marsala e dei Comuni limitrofi.

### *Xystis*

Another version of the *chiton* is the *xystis*, a long, sleeveless garment worn by charioteers in both vase painting and sculpture. The so-called Motya charioteer (Figure 4.16), dating to the middle of the fifth century, is an exceptionally fine example.<sup>182</sup> This voluminous garment was often bound to the upper body by means of cords or bands, to keep it from flapping in the wind.<sup>183</sup> On the other hand, the length of the garment, enveloping the legs, reflects the traditional, ritual nature of chariot racing.<sup>184</sup>

The *xystis* does not seem to have been worn by Greek women in any context. (On the other hand, as mentioned, the *chiton* and *peplos* are often conflated, especially in art of the Classical period; it is difficult in many cases to distinguish between a sleeveless *chiton*, a linen *peplos*, and a *xystis*, e.g., the *aulos*-player in Figure 4.25, the bride and her attendant in Figure 5.7.) The sleeveless linen garment worn by the Thracian woman in Figure 3.16 is not unlike that of the Motya charioteer. It is unclear whether this garment was actually worn by Thracian women, or whether this is an artistic invention to demonstrate the lack of propriety of barbarian women. The open arm-holes revealing her breasts, together with her flying hair, and open pose and gesture, underscore her otherness.

Although the *chiton* was adopted from the East, it became the primary garment for the Greeks. Men and women wore different varieties of the *chiton* in different



periods and for various purposes. Compared to other Greek garments, it seems to have been especially polyvalent. As an imported garment made of fine linen, the full-length *chiton* carried with it associations of luxury and high status; hence, its rejection by Athenian men with the advent of democracy. On the other hand, shortened variations of the *chiton*, such as the *chitoniskos* and *exomis*, were worn by soldiers and by workers, who were not among the elite. These shorter garments were practical for bodily movement, and did not connote luxury or leisure.

Women retained the longer garment throughout the Archaic and Classical periods. The luxurious connotations of the woman's *chiton* are evident in its material and its length. The fine linen was more or less diaphanous (e.g., Figures 4.12, 4.13b), which, in stark contrast to the woolen *peplos*, allowed display of the female form beneath the garment.<sup>185</sup> As discussed by Janina Darling, Robin Osborne, and others, this type of bodily display emphasized women's sexuality and reproductive capacities, which were of particular concern given women's role in exchange at marriage.<sup>186</sup> In addition, the voluminous cloth and billowing sleeves would have made dynamic movement impossible. The full-length *chiton* was a garment of conspicuous leisure. But the *chiton* was rarely worn alone (except, perhaps, in private, domestic contexts); it was generally covered with an *epiblema* (or *periblema*), which allowed even more potential for personal display.

#### EPIBLEMATA

*Epiblemata*, literally "overgarments," were worn over *endumata* such as the *chiton*. They differ primarily in their structure: whereas *endumata* are generally pre-shaped garments that are suspended from the shoulders, *epiblemata* are simply lengths of cloth wrapped around the body (although they may be held in place with garment fasteners).<sup>187</sup> As they are simple pieces of fabric, it is unclear how different types of *epiblemata* were distinguished; it may be the quality of the cloth or the manner of draping the garment. As with the *endumata*, *epiblemata* change over time and according to the sex of the wearer. The most distinctive characteristic of *epiblemata* is that, as draped garments, they afford a greater degree of variation than pre-shaped garments. In addition, as the outermost layer of dress, *epiblemata* carry the greatest potential for personal communication and display.

#### Himation

The *himation* (plural: *himatia*) is a type of mantle worn over the *chiton* or alone.<sup>188</sup> Since the *himation* is not pre-shaped, it can be draped in any number of ways. Unlike some other types of *epiblemata*, it is never pinned.<sup>189</sup> The most conventional way for both men and women is depicted on a red-figure *kylix*



4.17. Red-figure *kylix*, Calliope Painter, ca. 430 BCE, Museum of Fine Arts 21.4, Boston. Photograph ©2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



4.18. Red-figure calyx-krater, Villa Giulia Painter, ca. 475–425 BCE, Villa Giulia 909, Rome. ©Alinari/Art Resource, NY.

by the Calliope Painter in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Figure 4.17). The garment is draped over one shoulder, wound around the body, and held in place by one arm, leaving the opposite arm free (clearly visible in Figures 4.13, 4.18). In general, men wrap their *himatia* to leave their right arms free, whereas women drape it over either shoulder (as in Figure 4.17).<sup>190</sup> In Figure 4.17 the youth in the center drapes his *himation* directly over his skin, whereas the two

women on either side arrange theirs over *chitones*. In both [Figures 4.17](#) and [4.18](#) the artist has represented the *himation* with broad folds, suggesting wool, in contrast to the thin folds of the linen *chitones* (compare [Figure 4.14](#)).

As mentioned in reference to the *peplos* and *chiton*, in early Archaic vase painting men are represented wearing a *himation* over the long *chiton*, while women are represented wearing the *peplos* without any *himation*. Hans van Wees argues that the combination of the luxurious *chiton* and cumbersome *himation*, which had to be held in place, reflects an increase in men's conspicuous leisure starting in the mid-seventh century.<sup>191</sup> Over the course of the sixth century, young men dispense with the *chiton*, and retain the *himation* as their only garment (e.g., [Figures 3.11](#); [4.10](#) [left], [4.17](#), [4.23](#), [4.25](#), [7.8](#) [groom; note the father of the bride retains both]), while women adopt the combined *chiton* and *himation* (e.g., [Figures 4.14](#), [4.17](#), [4.18](#), [4.22](#), [4.23](#), [4.25](#), [7.8](#)). Both men's and women's dress in this period imply leisure, and therefore elite status, but only women's dress retains the luxurious connotations of the *chiton*. The undecorated woolen *himation* instead suggests a kind of democratization in men's dress in the later sixth century, especially at Athens.<sup>192</sup>

The *himation* carries with it tremendous potential for variation and, therefore, nonverbal communication.<sup>193</sup> Starting in the late Archaic, vase painters represent the man's *himation* in a wide variety of arrangements that display the body to a greater or lesser degree.<sup>194</sup> For example, in [Figure 3.11a](#), depicting boys and men in a music lesson, the only figure wearing the *himation* draped in the typical way over his left shoulder is the youth seated on the left. The older, bearded, man seated on his right has allowed his *himation* to slip down, revealing his torso. The standing bearded man on the left has tossed the edge of his *himation*, which should be draped over his left arm, back over his right shoulder, so that the garment would seem to be in danger of slipping open at any moment; his walking stick serves as a prop to hold the garment precariously closed.<sup>195</sup> Finally, the young boy standing between the two seated figures is completely enveloped in his mantle, with only his finger and thumb emerging from the cloth. As Gloria Ferrari has demonstrated, this type of enveloping mantle distinguishes desirable young boys who must display modesty, like women.<sup>196</sup> His desirability is suggested by the fact that his body is visible underneath the cloth; likewise, the legs of the bearded man whom he faces are discernible beneath his garment, implying a sexual connection between them.<sup>197</sup>

The tremendous variety in the arrangement of the man's *himation* suggests that it required a great deal of attention on the part of the wearer to manage the garment properly.<sup>198</sup> Several ancient authors comment on the proper arrangement of the *himation*. In Aristophanes' *Birds*, Poseidon chastises the Triballian god: "What do you think you're doing, draping your *himation* like that, from right to left? Please reverse it, this way, from left to right. Oh, you

sorry bungler!” (1567–1569). Plato’s Socrates distinguishes between “the man who has truly been brought up in freedom and leisure, whom you call a philosopher” and a slave who “does not know how to wear his cloak as a freeman should, properly draped” (*Theaetetus*, 175e).<sup>199</sup> Other sources mention the wrong way to wear the *himation*. Aristotle notes that after the death of Pericles, Cleon “addressed the Ekklesia with his garments tucked up when it was customary to speak properly dressed” (*Constitution of Athens*, 28.3).<sup>200</sup> One of Theophrastus’ *Characters*, Boorishness, “sits down with his *himation* hitched up above his knee, thereby revealing his nakedness” (4.7).<sup>201</sup> And Demosthenes ridicules Aeschines “the clerk” by stating that “he walks through the Agora with his *himation* down to his ankles” (19.314).<sup>202</sup> It is clear that the proper arrangement of the *himation* was learned via means of proper socialization. The range of potential messages, intentional or not, that could be communicated by the garment were likely discernible only to a select group. An important ethnographic parallel is the traditional Ethiopian *shamma*, which communicates social status, role, context, even mood, depending on its arrangement (Figure 4.19).<sup>203</sup>

Since proper women did not wear the *himation* alone, only in combination with the *chiton*, they had fewer opportunities for display of their bodies under the multiple layers of cloth. But the woman’s *himation* could also be manipulated depending on social context and role.<sup>204</sup> For example, it is frequently employed as a veil in Classical grave reliefs and vase painting.<sup>205</sup> As argued by Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, women’s veiling practices represent a means of feminine agency, in antiquity as today, and gave women control over their sexuality.<sup>206</sup> The erotic potential of the *himation* is implied by the fact that it was employed in dance, especially by the so-called mantle dancers depicted in Classical and Hellenistic vase painting and sculpture.<sup>207</sup> While elite women never wear the *himation* without a *chiton*, some *hetairai* do (Figure 3.11b, detail of shoulder), allowing the garment to slip down around the waist like their male clients (see also Figure 5.19).

Some non-elite men and women wear a *himation*-type garment wrapped and tied around their waists, in order to free their upper bodies for work (see Figure 2.7).<sup>208</sup> The fact that this garment is not draped in the conventional manner distinguishes them from elite men and women, and also underscores the adaptability and practicality of the *himation* as a warm overgarment.

### *Chlaina and Chlamys*

The *chlaina* and *chlamys* are cape-like mantles worn by men fastened at the shoulder or neck with a button or fibula.<sup>209</sup> Both terms are derived from the same Semitic root, and may in fact refer to the same garment.<sup>210</sup> The *chlaina* is mentioned in Homer as a man’s warm coat made out of wool, dyed purple





#### Expressions of the Ethiopian Toga

**Top, from left to right:** debonair assurance ; sadness ; reserve ; self-abasement.

**Center from left to right:** preparing for litigation ; during litigation ; the low bow ; respect.

**Bottom, from left to right:** greeting the church by kissing outer wall ; debonair woman (here impersonated by a man) ; in the funeral dance of women (here impersonated by a man) ; utilitarian protection from sun, rain, heat, cold.

4.19. Variations in the arrangement of the Ethiopian *shamma*, S. D. Messing, "The Nonverbal Language of the Ethiopian Toga," *Anthropos* 55 (1960): 561.

or red.<sup>211</sup> In the Archaic period the *chlamys* became the official garment of the *ephebes* at Athens.<sup>212</sup> The essentially masculine connotations of the *chlaina* (and, by extension, the *chlamys*) are evident in the passage in Aristophanes' *Women at the Thesmophoria*, in which a young man of ambiguous gender is asked: "Are you being raised male? Then where's your dick? Your *chlaina*? Your Spartan shoes?" (141–142).<sup>213</sup>

The *chlaina* and *chlamys* are difficult to distinguish from one another in the visual sources.<sup>214</sup> Chryssoula Saatsoglou-Paliadeli has argued that the *chlamys* was Macedonian in origin, and that it was semi-circular in shape; Steven Lattimore believes that the garment was Thessalian and rectangular.<sup>215</sup> The



4.20. Red-figure bell-*krater*, Dinos Painter, ca. 430–410 BCE, University of Pennsylvania, 5682, Philadelphia. Courtesy of the Penn Museum, image #163627.

typical arrangement of the *chlamys* is discernible on a Classical red-figure bell *krater* by the Dinos Painter at the University of Pennsylvania (Figure 4.20; see also the prospective groom in Figure 7.8) depicting young huntsmen(?). Here the artist has taken care to depict small tassels at the corners of the garment, indicating that it was square or rectangular as opposed to oval or circular.<sup>216</sup>

The *chlamys* can be easily manipulated to provide more or less coverage of the body as needed, while held securely in place with the fastener.<sup>217</sup> The opportunities for bodily display afforded by this garment explain its use by professional female dancers and acrobats, and in ritual contexts.<sup>218</sup> As we have seen in the case of the *chitoniskos*, the adoption of a typically masculine garment by females of non-ideal or indeterminate status is not unusual.

### *Tribon*

The *tribon* is described in the ancient literary sources as a coarse mantle worn by Spartan men, a type of “civic uniform.”<sup>219</sup> According to Plutarch, those who returned home alive following defeat on the battlefield (“tremblers”) were no longer allowed to wear the *tribon*, but were forced to wear cloaks with patches of different colors.<sup>220</sup> The simplicity of the *tribon* is implied by the statement of Thucydides (p. 102), that the Lacedaemonians were the first to adopt “modest clothes” (1.6.4). Likewise, Aristotle claims that “the rich wear clothes such as even any poor man could procure” (*Politics*, 4.7.5). As “the central emblem of Spartan simplicity and austerity,” it was the favored garment of the Cynic philosophers.<sup>221</sup>





4.21. White-ground *kylix* (interior), Villa Giulia Painter, ca. 470 BCE, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Bothmer Purchase Fund, Fletcher Fund, and Rogers Fund, 1979 (1979.11.15), New York. ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

### *Other Mantles*

Aside from the *himation*, women wore a variety of other mantles. It is difficult to tell in some cases whether mantles represented in sculpture and vase painting are in fact variations on the typical arrangement of the *himation*. For example, the priestess pouring a libation at an altar on the interior of a Classical white-ground *kylix* by the Villa Giulia painter in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 4.21) wears a purple mantle draped over both shoulders.<sup>222</sup> This garment is no different in structure from the typical *himation*; perhaps it has simply been re-arranged for ritual purposes. Other mantles were apparently specialized types for religious festivals, such as the pinned back-mantle identified by Linda Roccas as the unique dress of the *kanephoroi* (basket bearers) in the Panathenaia and other festivals.<sup>223</sup> The “cape” identified by Brunilde Ridgway on the *Peplos kore* may be another kind of festival mantle.<sup>224</sup>

As with the *himation*, different types of mantles had erotic connotations. The *egkuklon*, a (presumably circular) women’s mantle, functions as an erotic metaphor in the plays of Aristophanes.<sup>225</sup> In vase painting, heterosexual couples recline under the same mantle, and pairs and groups of standing and seated

women sharing a mantle may allude to female homoeroticism.<sup>226</sup> The ease with which the mantle may be manipulated to cover or uncover the wearer(s) creates a degree of erotic tension.<sup>227</sup>

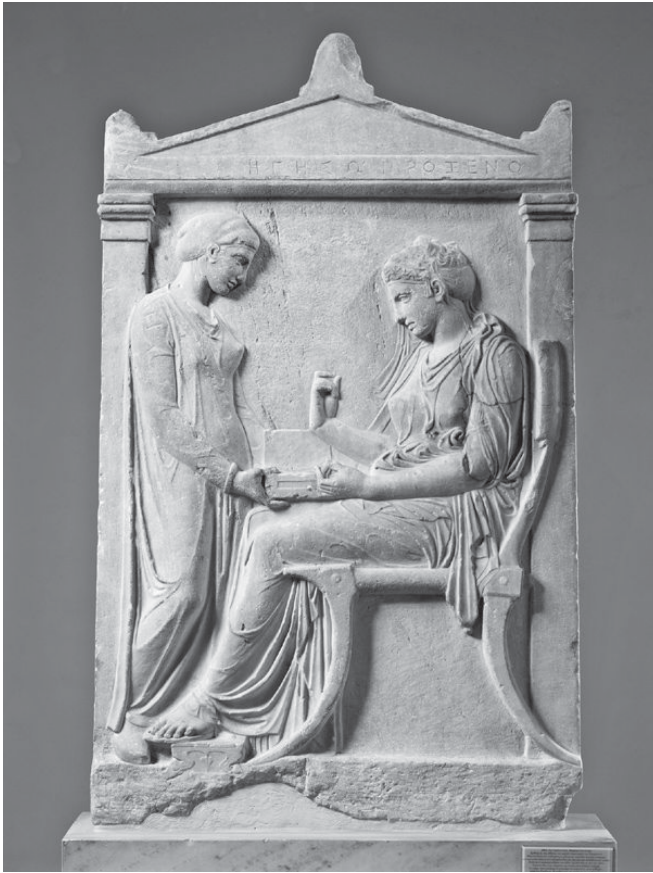
As the outermost layer of dress, *epiblemata* were especially important for the construction of identity in early Greece. As unstructured pieces of cloth, they were especially malleable and could be arranged and re-arranged at the whim of the wearer to reveal or conceal the body and head. As such, they often carried erotic connotations. Many *epiblemata* were brightly colored and/or highly decorated, which made them especially effective as bearers of nonverbal social messages. As we will see, it is both the surface patterning and the construction of foreign garments that distinguish them from Greek garments.

#### BARBAROI HYPHASMATA

Barbarians were often most identifiable by their garments, which were different in their conception from Greek garments. Whereas Greeks wear garments made of woven textiles, barbarians often wear animal skins.<sup>228</sup> In vase painting, Dionysos and his followers, satyrs and maenads, often wear panther skins to indicate the foreign origin of the cult, as well as their peripheral status outside the normal strictures of Greek society.<sup>229</sup>

But the most distinctive barbarian garments were constructed sleeved jackets and leggings (*anaxyrides*) with elaborate surface patterns.<sup>230</sup> These exotic garments, fundamentally different from the native draped (often undecorated) garments, are likely Persian in origin, but starting around 530 BCE they are worn also by Scythians and generic foreigners, as well as Amazons, in Greek sculpture vase painting (e.g., the Scythian archers flanking the arming warrior in Figure 4.15).<sup>231</sup> While the dress of barbarians in Greek art may reflect on some level actual styles worn by various non-Greek ethnic groups, the tremendous variety, especially of the patterning, suggests a degree of artistic license in presenting the exotic Other. It is interesting to note that the surface patterns of the garments often look like spotted animal skins or tattoos, both of which were identified with barbarians in the Greek mindset.<sup>232</sup> Certainly the close fitting “body-suit” would have approximated the appearance of decorated skin. Unlike draped Greek garments, the fitted barbarian garments would not have allowed for variation or manipulation by the wearer, reflecting the fixed “outsider” status of foreigners.

On the other hand, there is some evidence that foreign garments were sometimes worn by native Greeks. In particular, the *cheiridotos chiton*, the *kandys*, the *ependytes*, and the *zeira* appear in the literary, epigraphic, and visual evidence as foreign garments adopted by the Athenian elite in the Archaic and Classical periods.<sup>233</sup> But these garments are also depicted in art worn by figures



4.22. Marble grave stele of a woman (“Hegeso stele”), ca. 410–400 BCE, National Museum 3624, Athens. ©Marie Mauzy/Art Resource, NY.

who would otherwise be identified as foreigners, in particular slaves and mercenaries. We cannot therefore assume that the appearance of these garments indicates either Greek or foreigner in every case.

### *Chiton Cheirotodos*

The *chiton cheirotodos* had the same basic structure as the conventional *chiton* with the addition of tubular sleeves attached by means of sewing.<sup>234</sup> Constructed sleeves are not a native Greek invention and may be traced to Persia.<sup>235</sup> A garment similar to the *chiton cheirotodos* is worn by men in Achaemenid art. In Greek art the *chiton cheirotodos* is generally worn by women (and as festive dress by men). Several different variations of this garment have been identified; it is unclear whether they should be considered different types. The standing female figure on the grave stele of Hegeso (Figure 4.22) wears a long-sleeved garment, perhaps the *chiton cheirotodos*, underneath a second garment that



4.23. Red-figure *hydria-kalpis*, Group of Polygnotos, ca. 430 BCE, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, 1960.342, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Photo: Imaging Department ©President and Fellows of Harvard College.

extends to the feet. This figure is generally identified as a foreign-born servant on the basis of her pose and gesture, as well as her sleeved garment.<sup>236</sup>

A shorter variety of the *chiton cheirototos*, reaching only to the middle of the thigh and belted *over* a *chiton*, is worn by the standing female figure on a red-figure *hydria-kalpis* by the Group of Polygnotos in the Sackler Museum (Figure 4.23). The woman stands in front of a loom and receives a baby from a seated woman wearing a *chiton* and *himation* while gazing at a standing, beardless, man wearing a long *himation* and leaning on a staff. She is usually identified as a Thracian nurse because of her sleeved garment with patterned borders like those on the Thracian *zeira*.<sup>237</sup> Margaret Miller, emphasizing the adoption of the *chiton cheirototos* by Athenian women, argues that this woman is the mother.<sup>238</sup> More convincing as examples of Athenians wearing the *chiton cheirototos* are the images of girls on *choes* made for the Anthesteria, an Athenian festival par excellence.<sup>239</sup> It seems that men also adopted the *chiton cheirototos* as festival dress, as did musicians of both sexes. Miller argues that the *chiton cheirototos* was appropriate for priests and musicians because it was a costly, luxurious garment, which over-rode any negative, barbarian connotations.<sup>240</sup>



### *Kandys*

Another luxurious garment borrowed from the East was the *kandys*, a type of sleeved coat, probably of leather.<sup>241</sup> Xenophon (*Anabasis*, 1.5.8; *Cyropaedia*, 1.3.2; 8.3.13) identifies the garment as Persian, and indeed it appears in Achaemenid art worn by elite men, who draped it from the shoulders with the sleeves unused.<sup>242</sup> Starting in the fifth century, it appears in Greek vase painting on images of Persians.<sup>243</sup> By the late fifth century, it appears in vase painting and sculpture on images of women and children, as on the marble gravestone of Myttion in the Getty Museum (Figure 4.24).<sup>244</sup> In an inversion of the Persian practice, the sleeves are always worn over the arms. Girls and women wear theirs over long *chitones*; little boys often wear it without any undergarment.<sup>245</sup> Some of the garments appear to have fur trim, as did the original Persian type. The Athenian identity of the wearers in the visual representations is supported by the fact that the *kandys* appears six times in the fourth-century catalogue of clothing dedications to Artemis Brauronia.<sup>246</sup> Unlike the *chiton cheiroidotos*, the *kandys* seems never to have been worn by adult men, but exclusively by women and children.



4.24. Marble gravestone of Myttion, ca. 400 BCE, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, 78.AA.57, Malibu, California.

### *Ependytes*

The *ependytes* was perhaps the most successful foreign import into Athens.<sup>247</sup> As a short, tunic-like garment, it is frequently conflated with the *chitoniskos*.<sup>248</sup> But the Greek name of this garment, meaning literally “put over,” supports its identification in the monuments as a short, often patterned, garment usually worn over a longer *chiton*. Although this garment is absent from contemporary Achaemenid art, the Athenians evidently thought it was Eastern in origin as it appears in vase painting after the Persian Wars as the dress of Amazons, Persians, and generic Easterners. The *ependytes* was known in east Greece in the Archaic period as a luxurious garment appropriate for festive occasions; it appears on sculptures of male aristocrats until the last quarter of the sixth century. It appears in Athenian art as the dress of *aulos*-players, perhaps Ionians, in black-figure vase painting.<sup>249</sup>

In the Classical period, the *ependytes* reappears in vase painting, as women’s dress in particular.<sup>250</sup> As a fancy, imported garment, it comprised “the ancient equivalent of ‘Sunday best.’”<sup>251</sup> If the *ependytes* can be equated with the *chitoniskos*,



4.25. Red-figure *phiale*, Phiale Painter, ca. 430 BCE, Museum of Fine Arts, 97.371, Boston. Photograph ©2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

it is the most frequent dedication to Artemis in the Braurion inventories. Both the visual and the epigraphic evidence suggest that the *ependytes* was a colorful, usually patterned, garment. As discussed, highly patterned garments were generally associated with the East, especially in the Classical period. The foreign origin of the *ependytes* is further underscored by the addition of fringe on some examples – for example, one of the dancers on the name-vase of the Phiale Painter in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Figure 4.25).<sup>252</sup> The social status of this figure is unclear, but the appearance of the *ependytes* on several figures who can otherwise be identified as barbarians and/or slaves underscores the foreign origin of this garment.<sup>253</sup> On the other hand, it is also worn by elite Athenian women and *parthenoi* performing various ritual activities (e.g., Figures 7.2 and 7.14, which is also fringed). According to Miller, “To an Athenian of the fifth century the image of the *ependytes* ... could connote one of two things. In some instances, it conveyed the Eastern origin of a *barbaros*; in other instances it conveyed the purchasing power of an Athenian.”<sup>254</sup>

### *Zeira*

Whereas the *cheiridotos chiton*, *kandys* and *ependytes* were all of Eastern origin, the *zeira* was from the northern region of Thrace.<sup>255</sup> The boldly patterned mantle,





4.26. Red-figure *kylix*, Pistoxenos Painter, ca. 470 BCE, Musée du Louvre, G 108, Paris. Photo: Hervé Lewandowski. ©RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.

perhaps made of felt and therefore appropriate to the cold climate of the north, is mentioned by both Herodotus (7.75) and Xenophon (*Anabasis* 7.4.3). It was likely known in Athens as early as the sixth century, when Thracian mercenaries were perhaps employed by the Peisistratids. The *zeira* appears in sixth- and fifth-century Attic vase painting in mythological scenes involving Thracians.<sup>256</sup> Starting in the late sixth century, it is also worn by men who can otherwise be identified as Athenians.<sup>257</sup> For example, the youthful cavalryman in the tondo of a red-figure *kylix* in the Louvre attributed to the Pistoxenos Painter (Figure 4.26) wears the *zeira* with its distinctive crenellated patterns. It seems likely that this garment was initially adopted by Athenian men on account of the perceived fierceness of the Thracians in battle.<sup>258</sup> Whether it retained its foreign connotations in the Classical period is unclear.

The appearance of foreign garments in Athens is a complex phenomenon. The evidence compiled by Miller demonstrates that in the fifth century BCE “some ‘foreign’ garments were worn by Athenians, and women in particular; [but] such wearers were comparatively few in number.”<sup>259</sup> It is difficult to determine in every case whether the wearer of these garments is in fact

Athenian or foreign. But if we are to accept that at least some Athenians did adopt foreign styles, it is significant that it was primarily women (and children) who did so. As discussed above in reference to the adoption of the *chiton* by Greek women, luxurious dress was more appropriate to women than to men, except in festal contexts.<sup>260</sup> What is even more interesting is that the *cheiridotos chiton* and the *kandys* were Persian *men's* dress. The adoption of these garments by Greek *women* reflects, again, a conflation of categories (female/barbarian). But Greek women did not wear these garments in exactly the same way as Persian men (for example, the use of the sleeves on the *kandys*). These garments have been appropriated and given a new meaning.

In contrast, the Thracian *zeira* was adopted from the north by Athenian men specifically because of its military connotations. Like the Eastern garments worn by women, the *zeira* was incorporated into the existing dress system. But whether or not it retained its barbarian allusions, it maintained its primary meaning, which was prowess on the battlefield.

It is also significant that certain foreign styles were never adopted by the Greeks. For example, the close-fitting patterned “body suits” with bifurcated leggings were *too* foreign to be incorporated into the Greek dress system, which is characterized by draped garments.<sup>261</sup> In addition, since these garments are worn directly on the body, their adoption by the Greeks would have signaled a kind of assimilation as opposed to appropriation. Hence, these garments always retained their barbarian connotations. Conversely, the *cheiridotos chiton*, *kandys*, and *ependytes* were all worn *over* typical Greek garments; the essential identity of the wearer was retained. As the outermost layer of dress, these garments were especially effective for personal display, especially display of luxury and elite status.

Although garments are the most visible element of dress, they are not necessarily the most important or the most meaningful. Nor can garments be understood without their accompanying attachments, such as dress fasteners, and other “accessories” such as headgear, jewelry, footwear, and various hand-held objects. The following chapter outlines the types of accessories employed by Greek men and women, primarily as indicators of gender and status.

## ACCESSORIES

In modern parlance, “accessories” is a generic term applied to articles of dress other than garments.<sup>1</sup> But for the ancient world, the distinction is somewhat misleading: many “accessories” are in fact essential features of garments – for example, the pins that fastened the *peplos*. Accessories are also employed in modifications to the body, such as pierced earrings. This chapter addresses accessories as objects in themselves, taking into account their functions relative to garments and body modification. I begin with garment fasteners, namely, straight pins, fibulae, and buttons, followed by various belts and cross-bands that cinched draped garments to the body. Taking the famous statue of Phrasikleia as a guide, I then discuss different types of jewelry, from the highly visible objects worn on the head (crowns, wreaths, hair ornaments, and earrings), to necklaces, bracelets, armbands, and finger rings, to the amulets that were sometimes hidden beneath garments. Veiling practices are included in the next section, together with other bindings of the head and hair, as well as various hats and caps. Footwear, including a tremendous variety of sandals, shoes, and boots, is described next. The final section focuses on handheld accessories, especially those with special significance in the iconography: mirrors, fans, parasols, the “athlete’s kit,” money bags, and walking sticks. It will be seen that although accessories are often less visible than garments, they carried important social information that was essential to the negotiation of identities in the face-to-face culture of ancient Greece. Because many accessories were gendered feminine (especially jewelry), they are essential to understanding ancient Greek constructs of femininity.

## GARMENT FASTENERS

Because most Greek garments were draped, separate fasteners were commonly employed to hold the cloth in place on the body.<sup>2</sup> The *peplos* required fasteners at the shoulders and was usually girded at the waist, as was the *chiton*. Mantles such as the *chlaina* and *zeira* were secured by means of garment fasteners; only the *himation* was held in place solely by the involutions of the cloth around the body.

Although the design of Greek garments required fasteners of various types, the visual and archaeological evidence is frustratingly sparse and difficult to decipher. While dress fasteners of various types are common finds in the Bronze Age, and in all periods on the Italic peninsula, they are rare in Greece

during the Archaic and Classical periods. Prior to the sixth century BCE, garment fasteners were frequent dedications in Greek sanctuaries, especially those dedicated to female divinities. Large numbers of bronze straight pins and *fibulae* (the ancient equivalent of the modern safety pin) have been recovered archaeologically, and temple inventories record dedications of pins at several sites.<sup>3</sup> Whether such pins were dedicated together with garments, or as significant or valuable objects in their own right, is unclear.<sup>4</sup> Pins are also found in graves dating to the same period. Unfortunately, it is difficult to determine whether pins found in funerary contexts were used to fasten garments, to secure a burial shroud, or simply as offerings to the dead.<sup>5</sup> In addition, few graves of this period have been sexed biologically, so that we have no independent means of establishing the sex/gender identity of the deceased.<sup>6</sup>

*Peronai*

Certainly the most (in)famous type of dress fastener is the straight pin, usually identified as *perone* or *porpe* in the literary sources. Examples recovered archaeologically are typically simple bronze (or iron) shafts, tapered to a point, with a more or less decorative head.<sup>7</sup> Two well-preserved examples in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, are 23 cm and nearly 40 cm in length, respectively (Figures 5.1a and b). Exceptionally large examples from sanctuary contexts, often misidentified



5.1. Geometric bronze *peronai*, ca. 900–700 BCE, Museum of Fine Arts, 98.647 and 98.648, Boston. Photograph ©2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

as spits for roasting meat, were most likely purpose-made votive pins.<sup>8</sup> The majority of pins by far date to the sub-Mycenaean, Geometric, and Orientalizing periods; the few examples found in later contexts are indistinguishable in style from the earlier types, and may be considered heirlooms. A number of small silver and gold straight pins were dedicated in sanctuaries and may have been made specifically for this purpose.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, most straight pins have been recovered from sanctuary contexts, giving us little indication as to their use as dress fasteners.

Pins found in inhumation burials provide important evidence for their placement on the body. In general, straight pins are found in pairs, one on each shoulder, as seen in the well-preserved sub-Mycenaean grave from the Kerameikos cemetery in Athens (Figure 5.2).<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, excavation reports do not usually mention the orientation of pins, whether point up or point down.<sup>11</sup> Interestingly, straight pins have also been found in other positions on the body, from the skull to the feet.<sup>12</sup> It is possible that these pins were used to secure shrouds rather than garments.

Visual representations of straight pins are relatively rare.<sup>13</sup> Most of the images postdate the archaeological evidence, calling into question whether the artist actually saw such pins in use. Straight pins are typically shown as fasteners for the feminine *peplos*.<sup>14</sup> The clearest (and most frequently reproduced) image is on the *peploi* worn by two of the Moirai (Fates) on the famous François vase (Figure 5.3).<sup>15</sup> In both cases, the pins are clearly inserted with the unprotected point extending upward. The second figure from the right wears a chain suspended from the head of the pins; similar chains are a common feature of terra cotta figurines of the seventh and sixth centuries BCE.<sup>16</sup> The François vase dates to the second quarter of the sixth century BCE, after the disappearance of such pins from the archaeological record, suggesting that these representations



5.2. Excavated skeleton with *peronai* and *fibulae* in situ, Submycenaean period, grave PO7, Kerameikos cemetery, Athens, German Archaeological Institute Neg. No. D-DAI-ATH-Kerameikos 601.





5.3. Moirai (Fates), detail of the so-called François Vase, Attic black-figure volute *krater* by Kleitias and Ergotimos, ca. 570–560 BCE, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4209, Florence. ©Nimatallah/Art Resource, NY.

should not be considered documentary evidence of their use. Indeed, the inclusion of such details on images of *mythological* figures calls into question their historicity.<sup>17</sup>

The literary sources for *peronai* do little to resolve such problems. In the Homeric epics, which are generally believed to be contemporaneous with the actual use of straight pins, *peronai* are used to fasten *peploi*, which are worn exclusively by female characters.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, the term *perone* is also used to refer to the golden pin decorated with animals that fastened Odysseus' purple woolen mantle (*Odyssey* 19.226; 19.256). Interestingly, all the *peronai* mentioned in the texts are made of gold, emphasizing their high value. In the *Iliad* (14.178–180), the *peplos* made for Hera by Athena Ergane is fastened with two golden *peronai*; in the *Odyssey* (18.292–294), Antinoös vies for the hand of Penelope by giving her a large *poikilos* (patterned)

*peplos* along with twelve golden *peronai*.<sup>19</sup> An exceptional passage in Book 5 the *Iliad* describes a *perone* with an unprotected point: when Aphrodite is wounded by Tydeus' spear, Athena mocks her ineptness on the battlefield, proposing that she sustained her injury instead from the point of a golden *perone* of an Achaian woman (5.422–425).

The dangerous nature of *peronai* is explicit in the passage of Herodotus “explaining” the transition from the pinned Dorian dress to the Ionian *chiton* (5.87–88; cited in [Chapter 4](#), p. 101).<sup>20</sup> According to the tale, the women of Athens used the *peronai* with which they fastened their garments to kill the lone survivor of a disastrous Athenian military expedition against Aegina. As punishment, the women were required to change their style of dress to the Ionian (or Carian) style, which required no pins. Herodotus wrote in the fifth century BCE, long after the disappearance of straight pins from the archaeological record. As discussed in [Chapter 4](#), it seems quite likely that his is an apocryphal tale explaining a real change in women's dress styles several centuries earlier. It is interesting to note that Herodotus identifies *peronai* specifically



with Dorian dress, suggesting that straight pins functioned as ethnic markers as well as indicators of feminine gender.

Elsewhere in classical Greek literature, *peronai* function as feminine weapons that are dangerous to men.<sup>21</sup> Oedipus is blinded by the *peronai* fastening the garments of the dead Jocasta (Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyranus*, 1268–1270; cf. Euripides, *Phoenicians* 805). Polymestor is blinded by the *porpai* that fasten the *peploi* worn by the Trojan women (Euripides, *Hecuba*, 1169–1171).<sup>22</sup> Again, given the mythological connotations of Greek tragedy, we need not consider the appearance of dress pins in drama as evidence for contemporary dress styles. Indeed, their appearance in these tales adds historical flavor – and drives the narrative. Modern commentators note the strong association of men and metal weapons, and women with textiles, within the Greek worldview.<sup>23</sup> *Peronai* in Greek tragedy illustrate the devastating results of equipping women with dangerous metal weapons, which are inappropriate to their sex.

The affiliation between women's dress pins and weaponry has been demonstrated in ancient Iran, where the display of dangerous, shaft-style pins underscores the militaristic identity of the people of Hasanlu.<sup>24</sup> The pins, which are known from both archaeological and visual sources, are similar in style to the weapons associated with men and seem to have functioned as symbols of an armed society. But they also served as a means of individual protection for women and visually demarcated the personal boundaries of the wearer. The same may have been true for the early Greek pins. Interestingly, Greek pins disappear at around the same time men cease to carry weapons as a marker of status achieved through military prowess.<sup>25</sup> Perhaps a similar ideological shift accompanied the change from *peplos* to *chiton*, and the rejection of straight pins.

When the *peplos* reappears in the iconography of Greek dress in the Early Classical period, actual pins do not. This lacuna in the archaeological record has been explained in various ways. Helen Lorimer suggested that pins of the Classical period were made out of wood and bone, which do not preserve well archaeologically.<sup>26</sup> It is also possible that metal pins were still employed with the *peplos*, but they were no longer left in sanctuaries or in graves, where they might be recovered archaeologically. On the other hand, representations of the *peplos* in Early and High Classical sculpture and vase painting do not (with rare exceptions) show shaft-type pins; indeed, most *peploi* of this period are depicted without fasteners of any type.<sup>27</sup> In many cases, the lappets of the garment appear to meet without overlapping, which might suggest that the Classical *peplos* was sewn rather than pinned.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand, it is possible that fasteners were added to marble statues by means of paint or even gilding. A very few examples display drilled holes for the insertion of metal attachments, as for example on the Giustiniani stele (Figure 4.9).<sup>29</sup> Invariably in these



5.4. Bronze and terra cotta buttons with gorgons' heads, ca. 500 BCE, British Museum 1959, 0720.2-5, London. ©Trustees of the British Museum.

cases only one hole is shown on each shoulder, which would make the use of straight pins impossible. It is more likely that the fasteners were simple round bosses, which are also discernible on some small-scale bronzes, in vase painting, and (rarely) in relief sculpture (e.g., [Figure 7.3](#)).<sup>30</sup> While it is possible that these round bosses represent brooches, thus continuing the tradition of the *peplos* as a pinned garment, surviving examples are rare.<sup>31</sup> It has been argued that the round objects are buttons, which have been preserved archaeologically (e.g., [Figure 5.4](#)). If the *peplos* was in fact worn during the Classical period (which is debatable; see [Chapter 4](#), p. 102), it is clear that the garment has now been “disarmed.” Without straight pins, the *peplos* no longer communicated dangerous notions of armed women; the garment has been made safe for society.<sup>42</sup>

### *Fibulae*

Less notorious, perhaps, than the *perone* is the pin known by the Latin name *fibula*, equivalent in its basic form and function to the modern safety pin.<sup>32</sup> The ancient Greek term for this fastener is unclear; as discussed earlier, it seems to be indistinguishable from the *perone* in many ancient sources. The archaeological history of the *fibula* is likewise similar to that of the straight pin. *Fibulae* are found in both funerary and sanctuary contexts until the end of the seventh century, rarely later.<sup>33</sup> They appear to have been employed together

with straight pins, as in the Geometric burial in the Kerameikos (Figure 5.2), though, unlike straight pins, they do not generally appear on the shoulders of the deceased. *Fibulae* are rare in the Archaic and Classical periods in mainland Greece; the few known examples are imported types. Likewise, *fibulae* are generally absent in sculpture and painting.<sup>34</sup> They remain popular, however, in peripheral areas such as Macedonia, and especially Italy, where they survive well into the Roman period.<sup>35</sup> The form and decoration of *fibulae* are regionally and chronologically specific. Both the catch-plate and the main arch of the pin, which would have been especially visible on the wearer, are often decorated with incised geometric designs or simple patterns of disks and beads. The most elaborate examples display birds and other animals, as well as anthropomorphic figures.<sup>36</sup>

### Buttons

*Peronai* and *fibulae* disappear after the seventh century BCE, around the same time the *chiton* is thought to have supplanted the *peplos* as the primary feminine garment. A functionalist explanation for the adoption of the *chiton* is that it did not require unwieldy, even dangerous, dress pins; the lightweight linen was easily sewn to create the distinctive sleeves of the *chiton*, as seen on the *kore* Phrasikleia (Figure 5.8).<sup>37</sup> But many *chitones* are clearly shown with small round bosses placed at intervals along the tops of the sleeves from the shoulder to the elbow (e.g., Figures 4.11, 4.12, 4.14, 4.18);<sup>38</sup> some of the Acropolis *korai* likewise show the diagonal *himation* fastened in this way.<sup>39</sup> Although some early commentators believed that these bosses represented round brooch-pins, Kate Elderkin convincingly argued that they were in fact buttons fastened by means of loops or ties.<sup>40</sup> Although no word corresponding to “button” survives in the literary sources, actual examples made of bronze, clay, amber, glass, and bone, often misidentified as beads, spindle-whorls, or loom-weights, have been recovered archaeologically.<sup>41</sup> An exceptional group of four buttons in the British Museum made of bronze and terra cotta is decorated with gorgons’ heads molded from Thracian coins of ca. 500 BCE (Figure 5.4).

The advantages of using fixed buttons rather than inserted pins are both practical and aesthetic. Not only is the potential danger of the sharp pin eliminated but it is possible to “fix” the elegant draping of the delicate *chiton* by means of these more or less permanent fasteners.<sup>43</sup> The best visual evidence for the use of buttons in this way is on the *korai*, on which the buttons would have been embellished with paint or gilding. Their decorative aspect is likewise emphasized by the virtuosic rendering of the tiny gathers of the fine cloth radiating from each fastener (e.g., Figure 4.14), adding visual interest to an already luxurious garment.

Elderkin proposed that once the benefits of buttons were established, they were adopted for all kinds of garments, including *peploi*.<sup>44</sup> Indeed, when *peploi* do reappear in the visual sources in the Early Classical period, they are sometimes depicted with round bosses on the shoulders (if a fastener is shown at all; see pp. 131–132).<sup>45</sup> Similar round fasteners secured the men's mantle known as *chlaina* or *chlamys* (see Chapter 4, pp. 116–118). That buttons and not brooches were employed with this garment (in the Classical period at least) has been confirmed by the excavation of the communal tomb (*polyandrion*) of the Thebans at Chaeronea, in which bone buttons were found on the right shoulders of the skeletons, corresponding to the place where the *chlamys* is fastened in vase painting.<sup>46</sup>

Dress fasteners of all types served multiple functions. Certainly, they were practical objects, necessary for securing several different types of garments, especially in early periods. But it is also clear that they had inherent value, especially fasteners made of bronze, silver, and gold; their dedication in sanctuaries had monetary as well as symbolic value. The materials used for dress fasteners, not only precious metals, but also glass and amber, made them highly visible embellishments that caught the eye with the movement of the wearer. Exceptionally elaborate examples would have further attracted the attention of onlookers with their ornate designs. Since most dress fasteners were worn on the upper part of the body, and especially close to the head and face, they were especially effective as a means of communication. As discussed, it seems likely that *peronai* carried connotations of individual protection and personal boundaries; perhaps the gorgon buttons communicated similar notions in the Classical period. Finally, the change from straight pins and fibulae to fixed buttons was more than a change in fashion. While the use of inserted pins required that the garment be re-draped each time it was worn, fixed buttons allowed the wearer to easily remove and resume the garment, with little attention to its arrangement on the body. While the *chiton* was certainly a statement of luxury, the ease with which this garment was fastened may have had a kind of democratizing effect.

#### BELTS

It is clear from both the visual and the literary sources that various Greek garments were belted, and that belts carried special significance (especially in the context of marriage; see Chapter 7, pp. 207–210); however, it is difficult to categorize them in any meaningful way.<sup>47</sup> Part of the problem lies in the terminology. In Archaic and Classical literature, the term *zōne* is used most often to identify the article of dress corresponding to the English *belt*; but other terms are employed as well, including *zōma*, *zoster*, *kestos*, *mitra*, *strophion*, and *tainia*, all of which also refer to other articles of dress, from brassières to headbands.<sup>48</sup>

To add to the confusion, *zone* is sometimes translated as “belt,” sometimes as “girdle,” terms with very different connotations in English. It seems very likely that the lack of specificity in the nomenclature corresponds to the inherent flexibility of this article of dress: as a more or less narrow length of cord, cloth, or leather, it could potentially be employed in multiple ways.<sup>49</sup> This section will address the use of such articles to gird a garment on the body, whether at the waist, the shoulders, or across the chest; bindings for the head and hair are discussed later in the chapter.

### *Zone*

That the *zone* was always a significant feature of feminine dress is clear from ancient literature. Hesiod’s description of the gods’ adornment of Pandora, the first woman, begins: “Athena girded and clothed her with slivery raiment” (*Theogony*, 575–576).<sup>50</sup> As shown in [Chapter 2](#), her adornment makes her irresistible to men, a “beautiful evil” (see pp. 34–35). Likewise, in the *Iliad*, Hera prepares to seduce her husband, Zeus, by fastening on a *zone* with a hundred tassels (14.181).<sup>51</sup> Throughout Homer, *euzonos* (“well-girdled”) or *bathyzonos* (“deep-girdled”) are positive feminine epithets; fifth-century authors adopt the motif for mythological and divine women.<sup>52</sup> As Michael Bennett has elegantly demonstrated, “the Homeric zone projects several dualities synonymous with feminine allure: chaste and sexy, virgin and wife, dangerous and safe.”<sup>53</sup> Such seemingly antithetical connotations are present also in Greek tragedy: for example, Aeschylus’ *Suppliant Maidens* threaten suicide by hanging themselves with their *zonai* as nooses (457–465), rather than submit to unwanted marriage.<sup>54</sup>

Both the literary and the visual sources suggest that the *zone* was an important indicator of age and sexual status for girls and women throughout their lives.<sup>55</sup> At least one ancient poet refers to a pre-pubescent girl as *azostos* (“without a belt,” Callimachus, fr. 620 A).<sup>56</sup> Likewise, in the visual sources, young girls are depicted wearing the garments similar to those worn by adult women, but unbelted (e.g., [Figures 4.8, 4.9](#); also 3.15, the younger daughter of Xanthippos).<sup>57</sup> The act of tying on a *zone* signified a girl’s readiness for marriage and is a frequent motif in bridal imagery.<sup>58</sup> The *parthenos* in [Figure 4.13b](#) holds her voluminous *chiton* in her teeth in order to fasten the *zone* around her waist;<sup>59</sup> the belt will be untied by her new husband, represented on the reverse of the same vase, on their wedding night.<sup>60</sup> The symbolic function of the *zone* is especially clear among the many *korai* who conspicuously display their belts, for example Phrasikleia ([Figure 5.8](#)), whose virgin status is known from her inscription: “I ... shall always be called girl (*koure*), having received this name from the gods instead of marriage.”<sup>61</sup> Likewise, the highly visible belt worn by the so-called *Peplos-kore* ([Figure 4.2](#)) certainly reflects her virgin

status, whatever her specific identity.<sup>62</sup> As noted in [Chapter 4](#), the over-belted “Attic”-style *peplos* is worn exclusively by *parthenoi*: in [Figure 4.7](#), the maiden unties her belt in order to dedicate it to Artemis prior to her marriage.<sup>63</sup> On the Rhodian grave relief of Timarista ([Figure 7.18](#)), an over-belted *peplos* marks the deceased as an eternal *parthenos*.

Married women do not display their *zonai* in this way, though it is clear from the presence of the *kolpos* that their garments are belted (e.g., [Figures 4.6, 4.10](#) [older woman on right], 4.21).<sup>64</sup> Nor are married women shown manipulating their *zonai* like *parthenoi*. According to both the literary and the visual sources, belts were removed for pregnancy and childbirth.<sup>65</sup> On the one hand, the unbelted, draped garment easily accommodated the changing shape of the pregnant woman’s body, without a need for special maternity garments.<sup>66</sup> On the other hand, the lack of a belt may have marked the pregnant woman as sexually unavailable (like pre-pubescent girls).

The practice of binding a woman’s body by means of the *zone* can be understood as a reflection of the patriarchal nature of ancient Greek society and the perceived need to keep women under control.<sup>67</sup> While the literary sources (which are overwhelmingly male-authored) support such an interpretation, the visual evidence suggests that the functions of the *zone* were much more complex. It is interesting to note that in all the scenes of bridal preparations involving the *zone*, it is always the bride herself who ties the knot, despite the fact that she is surrounded by attendants. Perhaps the *parthenos* had more agency in terms of her sexual status than is often assumed. The question of female sexual agency is evident in the image of a *hetaira* untying her *zone* in the presence of her male client ([Figure 4.12](#)). Whereas the bridal belt will be removed by the husband on the couple’s wedding night, a *hetaira* removes the *zone* herself, thereby controlling access to her body (and especially her sexual organs, toward which the man gesticulates).

Belts, and the lack of them, also construct barbarians in the visual sources. Whereas proper Greek (married) women are belted, foreign women are often beltless.<sup>68</sup> The servant on the Hegeso stele ([Figure 4.22](#)) is an excellent example, and the tattooed Thracian woman in [Figure 3.16](#) wears a broad, patterned cloth instead of a belt around her hips. And whereas Greek men generally do not belt their garments, the Egyptian priests in [Figure 3.18](#) wear quite visible belts into which their short linen garments are tucked, revealing their circumcised genitals. As discussed in [Chapter 2](#) (pp. 41–42), these belts likely marked the barbarian as effeminate.

### *Zoster*

Although belts were not typical of men’s dress in the Archaic and Classical periods, they were very significant in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE.

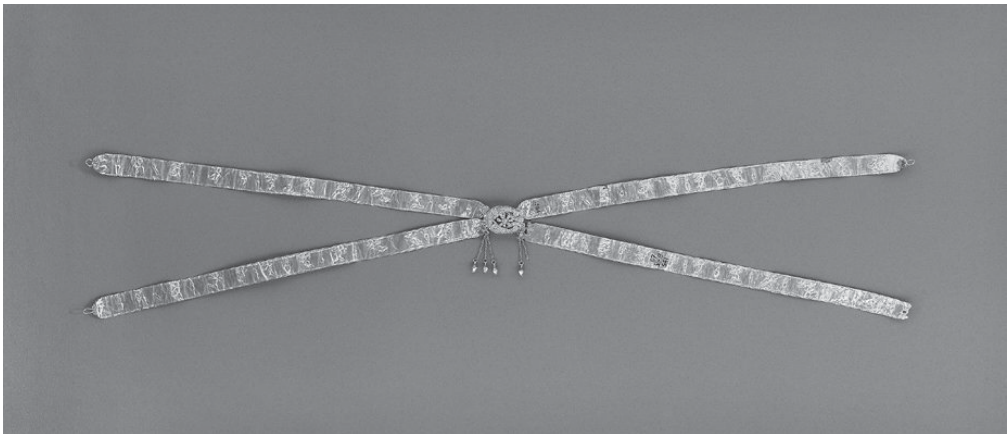


In Homer, warrior-kings are often identified with the *zoster*, examples of which have been recovered archaeologically, especially as votive dedications. As Bennett has shown, the *zoster* carried connotations of military prowess, just as the woman's *zone* was a symbol of both feminine seduction and chastity.<sup>69</sup> By the sixth century BCE, the *zoster* was no longer employed, though it did survive as a decorative feature of the bell-corselet, which was adopted along with hoplite warfare in the seventh century BCE.<sup>70</sup> Some of the early *kouroi* wear wide belts, though this feature disappears by the end of the seventh century.<sup>71</sup>

Interestingly, the only context in which Greek men wear belts in the sixth and fifth centuries BCE is athletics, which carried strong military connotations.<sup>72</sup> Charioteers are usually depicted wearing a belt in order to keep their linen *chitones* from billowing in the wind.<sup>73</sup> The Motya charioteer (Figure 4.16) wears a “composite” belt (Stupka type 13) across the chest, to which the horses' reins were attached. The famous Delphi charioteer wears a narrower belt lower on the torso, plus thin cords crossed over the back and shoulders to contain the voluminous cloth, similar in conception to those worn by young maidens.<sup>74</sup>

### Cross-Bands/*Kestos*

Starting in the fourth century BCE, *parthenoi* are sometimes represented with thin cross-bands over their over-girded *peploi*, as depicted on the grave stele of Theophile in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (Figure 7.3). The narrow straps cross over the breasts, framing them; a round medallion adorns the center crossing.<sup>75</sup> Breast-bands and medallions of gold have been recovered archaeologically, though they are much more common in the Hellenistic period. A third-century example in the British Museum (Figure 5.5) displays a central Herakles knot with pendant pomegranates and images of *erotes* on the



5.5. Gold breast-band with Herakles knot, pomegranates, and *erotes*, ca. 250 BCE, British Museum 1984, London. ©Trustees of the British Museum.

bands. It is unclear whether such elaborately decorated articles were actually worn in life or made for the grave.

The meanings of such bands have been the subject of much speculation. On the one hand, it is clear that they served a practical function: like the chariot-eer's shoulder cords, they kept one's garment from billowing away from the body. And so, active figures such as the virgin goddesses Athena and Artemis are often depicted wearing cross-bands.<sup>76</sup> It has been suggested that mortal *parthenoi* wore them to secure their garments during rituals such as the Arkteia, in which their "wild" girlishness was tamed.<sup>77</sup> Like the *zone*, the highly visible binding of the chest communicated the social control of the virgin female body; but the cross-bands also enhanced the budding breasts of the *parthenos*, allowing for visual confirmation of her physical maturity.<sup>78</sup> The need for protection of the virgin female body is reflected in the presence of the central disk, which likely functioned as a kind of apotropaic amulet.<sup>79</sup> The Herakles knot in Figure 5.5 is likewise a protective symbol, like the knot that tied the bridal *zone*.<sup>80</sup> In a very general sense, the cross-bands seem to have communicated the virgin status of the wearer and her potential marriageability.<sup>81</sup>

Cross-bands have been identified with the *kestos* or *kestos himas* mentioned in literary sources as early as Homer.<sup>82</sup> The *locus classicus* is in book fourteen of the *Iliad*, when the goddess Hera seeks the aid of Aphrodite in order to seduce her husband, Zeus. Aphrodite gives Hera her *kestos himas*, which is described as a "*poikilos* strap, inlaid, in which are fashioned all manner of allurements; in it is love, in it desire, in it dalliance – persuasion that steals the senses even of the wise" (14.214–217).<sup>83</sup> As Christopher Faraone has shown, this passage reflects the widespread use of love magic in ancient Greece.<sup>84</sup> On the one hand, the *kestos* enhanced the attractiveness of its wearer; on the other hand, it functioned as a kind of amulet to ward off potential marital discord. Like the *zone*, the ambiguity of the *kestos* makes it an appropriate symbol for the *parthenos*: she is a "beautiful evil," alluring, but inaccessible, to all but her future husband.

The erotic function of cross-bands is evident in their appearance on a fourth-century Attic red-figure *lebes* stand in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (Figure 5.6) depicting a wedding dance.<sup>85</sup> The female dancers wear short, transparent, *chitones*, through which their developed breasts and nipples are clearly visible, which is rare in either vase painting or sculpture.<sup>86</sup> Over their *chitones* are cross-bands with a central disk picked out with applied clay and gilded.<sup>87</sup> On the one hand, the bands served a practical purpose, to secure their garments while dancing; on the other hand, they frame and emphasize the women's breasts. The erotic connotations of cross-bands is clear also in the depilation scene in Figure 3.14, in which both women wear thin cords (but no central ornament) directly on the skin.<sup>88</sup> In both cases, the bands



5.6. Attic red-figure *lebes* stand, ca. 370–360 BCE, National Archaeological Museum 12894 Athens. ©Hellenic Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

are distinguished from those worn by *parthenoi*, whose garments obscured the appearance, if not the swelling form, of the breasts.

It is possible that cross-bands were originally a status symbol adopted from the East.<sup>89</sup> In fifth- and fourth-century vase painting, barbarians are often depicted wearing cross-bands over long-sleeved *chitones*.<sup>90</sup> The adoption of such bands by *parthenoi* might have been a statement of luxury. But it is also significant that only unmarried girls are depicted wearing them: they were not considered appropriate for the ideal Greek male. As with the *zoster*, discussed earlier, the presence of cross-bands on barbarian figures marks them as effeminate to the Greek viewer.

It is perhaps not a surprise that bands and belts are primarily feminine articles in the Greek dress system. Secured on the body by means of knots, especially Herakles knots, they symbolize in a literal, and often highly visible, way the social control of the virgin female body. The release of female sexuality in the context of marriage is easily communicated by the untying of the *zone*. The dedication of the *zone* (and perhaps also the *kestos*) to Artemis assured that female sexuality remained under social control. On the other hand, the manipulation of such articles by the maidens themselves suggests that they retained some degree of agency in the transition from virgin to bride.

## JEWELRY

Jewelry is a generic term encompassing a variety of decorative articles, usually made of precious materials. For the purposes of this study, jewelry refers to objects worn directly on the body, to be distinguished from dress fasteners, which are treated in the previous section.<sup>91</sup> Ancient Greek jewelry has enjoyed great popularity in the modern period.<sup>92</sup> Certainly, the intrinsic value of gold is part of its appeal, and the objects themselves display a high degree of craftsmanship, often combined with charming imagery. But perhaps the greatest appeal of jewelry is its personal nature: to handle an ancient finger ring, for example, is the closest we moderns can get to the ancients themselves. All of these factors contribute to the popularity of Greek jewelry among collectors, which has in turn spurred a tremendous black market for looted objects. Sadly, most extant jewelry is without secure archaeological context, which limits its value for study.<sup>93</sup> Fortunately, the literary and visual sources supply rich evidence for the social significance of ancient Greek jewelry.

Although modern jewelry is generally appreciated for the value of its materials and its design, ancient jewelry had many other purposes.<sup>94</sup> Certainly, and perhaps more than in the modern world, jewelry made of precious metals served as a repository for the wealth of one's family. But unlike gold bullion, the public display of such objects on the body communicated wealth and status in a highly visible way.<sup>95</sup> As today, most jewelry was worn on the upper body (necklaces, armlets, bracelets, finger rings), and especially around the head and face (diadems, earrings). The gleam of polished metals and gems, combined with elaborate designs, called attention to the individual identity of the wearer. The designs themselves were often significant, representing plants, animals, and figures from Greek mythology that reflected (and constructed) the identity of the wearer. Finally, the materials of Greek jewelry were often ascribed special significance, especially "magical" gemstones. In general, the symbolic functions of ancient Greek jewelry have been less well studied than its technical aspects. But the evidence suggests that Greek jewelry carried important social messages.

Jewelry is clearly gendered feminine in the Greek mindset. Pandora's adornment includes a golden crown (Hesiod, *Theogony*, 578) and necklaces (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 74). Hera seduces Zeus wearing earrings with mulberry clusters (Homer, *Iliad*, 182–183). Aphrodite decks herself with gold necklaces and earrings in the shapes of flowers, which Anchises removes prior to their lovemaking (*Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, 65–163). Throughout Greek literature, gold jewelry enhances a woman's beauty and also her power over men. Conversely, men who wear jewelry are considered effeminate, old-fashioned, pompous, or foppish.<sup>96</sup> Thucydides (*Histories*, I. 6, 4) disapproves of the luxurious fashions of old men, who wear linen *chitones* (see [Chapter 4](#), p. 108) and

fasten their hair with golden *tettiges* (“cicadas”).<sup>97</sup> Xenophon (*Anabasis*, 3.1.31) specifically identifies pierced ears as a mark of an Easterner; hence, Greek men are depicted wearing earrings only when dressed as foreigners at symposia (e.g., Figure 7.13).<sup>98</sup> On the other hand, the archaeological evidence demonstrates that men did wear some types of jewelry, in particular signet rings, which had an administrative function.<sup>99</sup>

Despite its inherent value, jewelry seems to be primarily a marker of gender rather than social status. As with other aspects of feminine adornment, it is difficult to distinguish jewelry appropriate for married women from that worn by *hetairai*. Several of the Attic orators allude to the provision of jewelry as part of the bridal dowry. But although the husband controlled the dowry, the wife maintained possession of her *paraphernalia*, typically understood as “clothes and gold jewelry.”<sup>100</sup> On the other hand, the laws of several other Greek cities stipulate that only prostitutes could wear gold in public.<sup>101</sup> Perhaps the real issue is one of personal display: proper women wore elaborate jewelry only in specific contexts, in particular, the wedding.

The visual evidence confirms the strong association between women and jewelry, and especially in the context of marriage.<sup>102</sup> Classical vase painting is filled with images of preparations of the bride, which include her adornment with jewelry by female attendants and *erotes*.<sup>103</sup> On a red-figure acorn *lekythos* dating to the end of the fifth century BCE, painted in the manner of the Meidias Painter (Figure 5.7), the bride wears a diadem, earrings, necklace, bracelets, and a *zone* with pendant attachments; two attendants, wearing less elaborate jewelry, bring a crown and necklace, while Eros fastens her sandals.<sup>104</sup> The jewelry is indicated with raised dots, which were originally gilded.<sup>105</sup> It is interesting to note that others in the scene usually provide the jewelry, whereas it is usually the bride herself who fastens the *zone* (see p. 136). Perhaps this iconography should be read as a visual representation of the *paraphernalia*, which was provided by the family of the bride.<sup>106</sup>

The profusion of jewelry worn by the Archaic *korai* likewise underscores the wealth of the family who commissioned the statues as idealized maidens.<sup>107</sup> Whether dedicated in sanctuaries or erected as grave markers, most *korai* are provided



5.7. Attic red-figure *lekythos* in the form of an acorn, in the manner of the Meidias Painter, ca. 410–400 BCE, Museum of Fine Arts 95.1402, Boston. Photograph ©2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



with crowns, earrings, necklaces, bracelets, and finger rings, which are carved in relief and/or painted, or inserted metal attachments. It has been argued in the case of the funerary *kore* Phrasikleia (Figure 5.8), that her jewelry, in the form of lotus flowers, marked her as a bride.<sup>108</sup> Although this specific interpretation cannot be supported for all *korai*, it is clear that their jewelry is intended to advertise both the maiden's beauty and the wealth of her family, and hence her desirability in marriage.

While the literary and visual sources for Greek jewelry are rich, they are difficult to reconcile with the archaeological evidence, which is itself problematic. As discussed, although jewelry has survived in great quantities, relatively few examples have been recovered in controlled excavations. And although jewelry was commonly deposited in graves and in sanctuaries throughout the Greek world, for unknown reasons, it is relatively rare in mainland Greece in the Archaic and Classical periods.<sup>109</sup> The few objects from known contexts might have been worn in life, or they could have been purpose-made grave gifts or votive dedications. The inherent value of most jewelry, and perhaps also its sentimental value, increases the likelihood of heirlooms, and therefore chronological confusion. On the other hand, even objects without known context can be useful for their iconography, which becomes increasingly elaborate in the Late Classical period and into the Hellenistic.

The following sections analyze specific types of Greek jewelry as they are worn on different parts of the body: head, ears, neck, arms, fingers, torso, and legs.<sup>110</sup> The exceptionally well-preserved *kore* Phrasikleia (Figure 5.8), which illustrates in relief most types of Greek jewelry, will serve as a model and guide.<sup>111</sup> The concluding section considers the significance of these types of jewelry taken together.

### *Crowns and Wreaths*

Encircling the top of Phrasikleia's head is a splendid circle of alternating lotus blossoms and buds. Carved in relief and polychromed, it is unclear whether this head ornament is intended to represent actual flowers or a piece of jewelry decorated with forms of lotuses.<sup>112</sup> Its specific identification likewise eludes us: the terms *diadem* and *stephane* are often conflated with one another and seem to refer to a range of crowns, wreaths, and other head bindings in various materials.<sup>113</sup> Mary Stieber has argued that Phrasikleia's headgear is a bridal crown, marking her as a *parthenos* who died prior to marriage.<sup>114</sup> And indeed, the evidence suggests that similar headgear was central to both the wedding and the funeral, as well as other ritual contexts.

The significance of wreaths and crowns in the Greek wedding is clear from the earliest representations on black-figure vases, in which brides invariably





5.8. "Phrasikleia" *kore*, from Merenda, Attica, ca. 550–540 BCE, National Archaeological Museum 4889, Athens. ©Vanni Archive/Art Resource, NY.



5.9. Gold diadem with repoussé palmettes, ca. fourth century BCE, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 74.51.3535, New York. ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.

hold a wreath while fingering their veil.<sup>115</sup> Red-figure vases showing the preparations of the bride often show her wearing a wreath or crown (e.g., Figures 4.4, 4.13b, 7.8); the bride in Figure 5.7 is presented with what appears to be a golden crown, while the attendant in Figure 5.14 holds a wreath. Actual gold diadems and wreaths have been recovered archaeologically, primarily from funerary contexts.<sup>116</sup> Figure 5.9 is one of many sheet-gold diadems dating to the fourth century said to have been recovered from Cyprus.<sup>117</sup> The thin repoussé gold is too delicate to have been worn in life, and it is likely that this object was made for the grave. Gold funerary wreaths, common in Macedonia and in the Hellenistic period, are rare in mainland Greece in the Classical period, though a few examples survive.<sup>118</sup> Whether funerary diadems and wreaths should be understood as bridal is unclear: even when the find-context of such objects is known, the sex of the deceased is rarely recorded. The simple vegetal iconography of the Archaic and Classical examples is not particularly bridal in nature. On the other hand, Hellenistic diadems are often decorated with the Herakles knot, which is generally ascribed bridal connotations, because of the tying of the *zone* discussed earlier (pp. 135–136).<sup>119</sup> Perhaps earlier diadems also had a bridal significance. In modern Greece, it was traditional to bury unmarried girls in the dresses and crowns they would have worn at their weddings.<sup>120</sup>

On the other hand, wreaths had other functions, especially in ritual. Wreaths made of actual plants and flowers were worn by participants in cult, for example the girls running foot races at the Arkteia (Figure 2.6).<sup>121</sup> Different plants were sacred to specific divinities, most notably grapevines or ivy for Dionysos, and laurel for Apollo.<sup>122</sup> Athletes who were victorious at the Panhellenic games were crowned with wreaths of olives (Olympia), laurel (Delphi), wild celery (Nemea), and pine (Isthmia).<sup>123</sup> The Motya chariot-eer (Figure 4.16) was likely crowning himself with just such a wreath.<sup>124</sup> The young men exercising (but not competing) in Figure 3.1 all wear wreaths, in this case to reflect the ritual function of the *krater* they adorn. Indeed, participants in the *symposion* are frequently depicted wearing wreaths (Figures 3.10, 3.11, 4.12, 6.1).<sup>125</sup> Literary sources confirm that garlands and wreaths of

flowers (together with perfume) were essential equipment at the *symposion*.<sup>126</sup> Of course, none of these organic materials have survived archaeologically, though we should probably view the extant gold wreaths as “permanent” renderings of such perishable goods. The epigraphic evidence demonstrates that wreaths made of gold were worn by cult officials and dedicated in sanctuaries.<sup>127</sup> Given the widespread use of wreaths in cult, it seems more appropriate to view them as objects that elevate the status of the wearer, rather than an indicator of any specific identity.

### *Hair Ornaments*

Phrasikleia's long locks are gathered behind the ears with a knotted fillet that appears to be made of cloth rather than metal.<sup>128</sup> Jewelry for the hair seems to have been very rare indeed. Although hairpins were very popular in the Roman period, Jacobsthal cites but one possible representation of a hairpin in Greek vase painting.<sup>129</sup> Likewise, although sprang hairnets were widely used in the Archaic and Classical periods (see p. 159), the only extant examples in gold date to the Hellenistic period and later.<sup>130</sup> Finally, “hair spirals,” common in the Bronze Age and Geometric periods, were more likely employed as earrings in the Archaic and Classical periods.<sup>131</sup>

### *Earrings*

Phrasikleia's earrings are simple hoops with pendants in the shape of lotus buds, like those on her crown. The hoops are clearly shown as inserted into piercings in the earlobes.<sup>132</sup> Stieber hesitates to identify the flowers as real or fabricated; if the latter, she suggests that they might have contained small vials of perfume to replicate a floral scent.<sup>133</sup>

Earrings are commonly worn by female figures in Archaic and Classical Greek art.<sup>134</sup> Most (if not all) of the *korai* wear earrings of various types. The so-called Peplos *kore* (Figure 4.2) has drilled holes into which metal earrings (now lost) were inserted.<sup>135</sup> The “Chiot” *kore* (Figure 4.14) wears disk-type earrings, carved in relief and polychromed with a blue background and a pattern of volutes, which were likely picked out in gold.<sup>136</sup> Similar disk earrings appear in vase painting worn by both brides (Figures 4.4, 6.2[?], 7.7b) and *hetairai* (Figures 3.13, 4.12, 5.19, 6.2[?]), as well as participants in a festival (Figure 7.14).<sup>137</sup> Other types are represented less frequently, though the crouching nude (*hetaira*? bride?) in Figure 3.7 appears to wear a spiral-type earring, and the *peplos*-clad woman in Figure 4.10 wears a hoop earring with multiple drops; the bride and her attendants in Figure 5.23 all wear earrings with crescent-shaped drops.



5.10. Gold earrings, ca. 400–350 BCE, British Museum 1920.12–21.5 and 1920.12–21.6, London. ©Trustees of the British Museum.

Actual earrings in gold, silver, and bronze survive in great quantities, though unfortunately few have known archaeological contexts.<sup>138</sup> Interestingly, the types preserved archaeologically do not correspond in terms of “popularity” to those depicted in the visual evidence.<sup>139</sup> In addition to the spirals sometimes misidentified as ornaments for the hair (p. 145), earrings were made in the form of boats, disks, hoops, *taeniae* (ribbons), the Greek letter omega, and inverted pyramids, such as the gold pair with ear wires in the form of snakes in the British Museum (Figure 5.10). In the later fourth century, more elaborate types develop, especially drop earrings with mythological figures such as Nike, which explode in popularity in the Hellenistic period. Particularly perplexing for archaeologists is the problem of disk-type earrings: although these are by far the most common type in the iconography, few examples are known *in corpore*. Perhaps they should be understood as the gold ear-reels, spools, or studs that were especially popular in East Greece.<sup>140</sup>

A distinctive feature of earrings is that they are the only type of Greek jewelry that required modifications to the body. As discussed in Chapter 3, permanent modifications to the body were anathema to the Greeks, who considered them barbaric. That Greek women pierced their ears correlated them on one level with barbarians – who also wore earrings, if we are to believe the testimony of Xenophon (p. 141).

But what are we to make of the male symposiasts depicted wearing earrings in the so-called Anacreontic vases (e.g., [Figure 7.13](#))?<sup>141</sup> It is difficult to imagine that Athenian men dressing as Easterners in the context of the *symposion* would wear actual pierced earrings with their costumes. On close examination of the *komast* (reveler) in [Figure 7.13](#), it is clear that his earring is not inserted into the earlobe but attached to the edge of his *mitra* (discussed later).

### Necklaces

Phrasikleia's necklace, carved in relief, fits closely around the base of her neck. It appears to replicate a string of pendants with spacer beads. Stieber, interpreting the necklace as part of a matched set with the earrings and crown, suggests that the pendants represent lotus buds, or perhaps tiny vases in the shape of lotus buds, which might have held scent. This “fabricated” necklace would have replicated garlands made of actual flowers, the *hypothymis* mentioned in various literary sources.<sup>142</sup> But the form of the pendants almost exactly replicates the pomegranates on an actual necklace dating to around the same period, recovered from a grave in Eretria ([Figure 5.11](#)). Pomegranates also have a funerary significance, as well as bridal connotations, on account of the myth of Persephone, bride of Hades.



5.11. Gold necklace with pomegranate pendants, from Eretria on the island of Euboea, ca. late sixth century BCE, Antikenmuseum G.I. 11, Berlin. ©bpb, Berlin/Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Germany/Johannes Laurentius/Art Resource, NY.



Phrasikleia's necklace is one of the more elaborate renderings in Archaic and Classical sculpture. In general, necklaces are less prevalent in the artistic record than other types of jewelry. Both the Chiot and the "Peplos" *korai* (Figures 4.2, 4.14) have painted necklaces.<sup>143</sup> Necklaces in vase painting are rather difficult to discern until the end of the fifth century, when individual beads are rendered with added clay and gilded (e.g., Figures 3.8, 5.6, 5.7, 5.23). The importance of necklaces is suggested by the fact that both the Giustiniani and the Hegeso *stelai* (Figures 4.9 and 4.22) depict female figures removing necklaces (originally added with paint or gilding) from *pyxides*, suggesting that they are in control of their wealth as well as their *kosmos*.

That necklaces had a special bridal connotation is suggested by the tragic myth of Eriphyle. Polynices gave Eriphyle the necklace of Harmonia in exchange for persuading her husband, Amphiarus, to take part in the Seven against Thebes, in which he would die. Alcmaeon avenged his father's death by killing his mother, and was pursued by the Erinyes until the river god Acheloös promised him his daughter Callirhoe in exchange for Eriphyle's necklace and clothing. But the necklace was in the hands of Phegeus, who ordered Alcmaeon's death and dedicated the necklace in a sanctuary to Aphrodite. The story is best preserved in later literary sources, but a Classical red-figure *oinochoe* by the Mannheim Painter in the Louvre (Figure 5.12) depicts Polynices offering the necklace to Eriphyle, who wears a pinned *peplos*.<sup>144</sup> Certainly the story served as a warning tale about the ineffability of marital harmony.

The form of Greek necklaces is essential to understanding the social messages they convey.<sup>145</sup> In general, extant Archaic and Classical examples comprise a string of beads and/or pendants of gold or semi-precious stones. The fact that necklaces are made of individual beads (as opposed to a solid torque, for example) suggests that they could be redesigned as necessary, or pieces removed in times of financial need. Most necklaces are relatively short, like a modern "choker," and would have fit closely around the neck rather than draping over the chest. Still, the strand of beads would have swung with the movements of the wearer, calling further attention to her head and neck.

The meanings attached to the various forms of beads and pendants have not been fully explored.<sup>146</sup> Certainly, floral motifs dominate the repertoire, perhaps to replicate the *hypothymis* made of actual flowers. In addition to pomegranates, melons, eggs, and acorns are also popular.<sup>147</sup> It is possible that hollow pendants may have held scent, in particular those shaped like tiny *amphorae* or *aryballoi*.<sup>148</sup> But other designs survive, including heads of lions, rams, and bulls, which may have had a protective function. Protomes of the river-god Acheloös may have alluded to the myth of Eriphyle, but they likely had a broader significance having to do with both protection and fertility.<sup>149</sup>





5.12. Eriphyle receiving the necklace of Harmonia from Polynices, Attic red-figure *oinochoe*, Mannheim Painter, ca. 450–440 BCE, Musée du Louvre G442, Paris. Photo: Hervé Lewandowski. ©RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.

### *Bracelets and Armbands*

Phrasikleia wears a single bracelet on each wrist. These have been restored with alternating sections of green and gold. Although they appear to be gold “bangles” set with semi-precious stones, it is possible that they are intended to represent strung beads. Unlike the rest of Phrasikleia’s jewelry, these appear not to have any decorative elements.<sup>150</sup>

In general, bracelets are represented less frequently than other types of jewelry in Archaic and Classical art. It is unclear how many *korai* originally had bracelets, since many sculptures have lost arms due to breakage.<sup>151</sup> It is possible that some statues were provided with metal examples that have not survived. As with necklaces, bracelets are generally difficult to identify in vase painting until the advent of added, gilded, clay in the late fifth century (see [Figures 3.8, 5.6, 5.7](#)), though the priestess in [Figure 4.21](#) wears two on each forearm, while the *hetaira* in [Figure 5.19](#) wears two spiral or snake bracelets.



5.13. Gold-plated bronze bracelets with ram-head terminals, fifth century BCE, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. ©Ashmolean Museum/The Art Archive at Art Resource, NY.

As with other types of jewelry, bracelets are typically worn by female figures in the visual sources.<sup>152</sup> But the youth in [Figure 7.15](#) wears both a bracelet and an anklet, perhaps to underscore his desirability as a victor in the *Euandria*, a kind of male beauty contest that was part of the Panathenaia at Athens.<sup>153</sup> On the other hand, infants and children of both sexes wear bracelets on the *choes* associated with the Athenian Anthesteria festival.<sup>154</sup> These children also wear amulet strings (see p. 153), and one wonders whether the bracelets likewise had a protective function.

Bracelets are generally quite rare in the archaeological record, and appear as only a limited number of types.<sup>155</sup> Some plain bangles of bronze and silver correspond to the simplest forms represented in the visual sources. But more complex designs also survive. Snake bracelets became increasingly more elaborate over the course of the Archaic and Classical periods and remained popular until Roman times. Whether the snake should be viewed simply as a zoomorphic elaboration of the coiled form of the bracelet or as a protective or healing device is unknown.<sup>156</sup> Penannular bracelets with animal-head finials (e.g., [Figure 5.13](#)), likely adopted in the seventh century BCE from Near Eastern prototypes, were the other major type. Again, it is unclear whether the type of animal represented, most often lions, should be considered protective or purely decorative.

It is difficult to tell whether surviving examples were worn on the wrist or upper arm. Certainly armbands are common in Hellenistic and Roman art; most of the Roman copies of the Knidian Aphrodite depict her with an armband set with a gemstone,<sup>157</sup> which should probably be understood as an amulet. It is possible that women also wore amulet bands on their upper arms in earlier periods, but they are not visible beneath the sleeved *chiton*.<sup>158</sup>

In general, it seems that bracelets were not as important for the construction of identity as other types of jewelry, especially those worn around the head and neck. On the other hand, the fact that bracelets are worn on the arms makes them especially visible with the gesticulations of the wearer. The visual evidence suggests that bracelets, especially thin metal bangles, were worn in pairs, so that they would create a sound as they clinked against one another. This aural component provides another dimension in the communication of identity: bracelets could be heard across distances, even when they could not be seen (under layers of clothing for example). Few other aspects of Greek dress had this aural component.

### *Finger Rings*

Despite the profusion of jewelry worn by Phrasikleia, she appears not to have worn a finger ring.<sup>159</sup> Finger rings are generally absent in both sculpture and vase painting of the Archaic and Classical periods, though rings of several types survive from both funerary and sanctuary contexts. The discrepancy between the visual and the archaeological evidence has not been explained; but perhaps the answer can be found in the literary sources, which describe the functions of rings.

Most rings in the Archaic and Classical periods have some kind of decorative bezel, which is either integral with the metal hoop, or made separately of a semi-precious stone such as cornelian.<sup>160</sup> Both the literary and the archaeological sources demonstrate that gemstones and finger rings were commonly employed as seals.<sup>161</sup> The incised decoration on the bezel could be pressed into a lump of clay or wax to seal a door or property, or a letter.<sup>162</sup> That gems and finger rings served as a means of personal identification is evident from multiple literary sources.<sup>163</sup>

References to the use of seals in the literary sources do not generally identify the owner, though named seal users are usually male.<sup>164</sup> In his monumental study of Greek gems and finger rings, John Boardman discounts women's use of seals, suggesting, "If gems and rings were much worn by women it would probably be for their value as jewellery rather than for their use as signets."<sup>165</sup> But given the importance of seals for securing personal property, it is likely that they were employed by women as well as men.<sup>166</sup>



5.14. Blue chalcedony scaraboid gemstone, signed Dexamenos, ca. 440 BCE, Fitzwilliam Museum CG53, Cambridge. ©Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge/Art Resource, NY.

The iconography of gemstones and rings likewise supports female ownership. Conventionally feminine imagery, including figures of women, Aphrodite, and Eros, becomes increasingly prevalent on gemstones and rings in the fifth century, at around the same time similar scenes become popular on Attic red-figure vases.<sup>167</sup> A remarkable example is a blue chalcedony scaraboid gem in Cambridge (Figure 5.14) depicting a seated bride wearing a diaphanous belted garment and fingering her veil, faced by an attendant bearing a wreath and mirror.<sup>168</sup> The gem is inscribed with the owner's name: *Mikes*.<sup>169</sup> Although nothing is known of the "life" of this object, or even its find-context (it is "said to be from the Morea"), one could imagine this ring as a wedding gift, or perhaps a funerary offering to a *parthenos* who had died prior to her marriage.<sup>170</sup> If women used

seals as a means of controlling access to personal property, perhaps rings such as this were given to wives when they assumed guardianship of their husbands' households.<sup>171</sup>

Although ancient authors do not describe women using seals in this way, the literary sources suggest that rings may have been gendered feminine, or at least not indicative of the masculine ideal. Herodotus declares that every Babylonian carried a seal (1.195.2), and Aristophanes twice identifies male ring wearers as foppish (*Assemblywomen*, 632; *Clouds*, 331–332). If rings did serve important administrative functions, their display by men was not viewed positively. It is possible that seals were not even used as finger rings but were worn suspended from a cord, as was common practice in the Bronze Age.<sup>172</sup> Seals worn in this way could easily be hidden under clothing, as was certainly the case for amulets.

### *Amulets*

The distinction between amulets and other types of gemstones is not always easy to determine. In general, amulets are magical objects believed to derive their powers from the materials from which they are made, their decoration,

or a combination.<sup>173</sup> Amulets can be made of a range of materials, animal, vegetal, and mineral. During the Archaic and Classical periods, gemstones were not inscribed with magical symbols, as was common practice in the Roman era.<sup>174</sup> This is not to say that sealstones were never ascribed magical powers like amulets. Aristophanes (*Wealth*, 883–883) refers to a finger ring purchased from a druggist as an antidote; scholiasts to this passage attest to the use of rings to avert the evil eye and as protection against snakes.<sup>175</sup> We know from various Roman authors that different colored stones were thought to have specific powers, and it is likely that such ideas extended back to early Greece.

The materials of amulets are difficult to discern in the visual sources. In general, amulets are represented on vases and other small-scale media, and are often rendered as simple beads or disks. Single amulets appear most frequently on *hetairai*, usually strung on a thin cord tied around the upper thigh, as in [Figure 3.10](#).<sup>176</sup> Some have suggested that these amulets served as protection against pregnancy or venereal disease and should therefore be considered markers for *hetairai*.<sup>177</sup> But female dancers, not certainly identifiable as *hetairai*, also wear them, on the thigh and also on the calf.<sup>178</sup> We know that proper women also used amulets, in particular to safeguard against the dangers associated with pregnancy and childbirth.<sup>179</sup> Representations of such amulets are rare; the terra cotta votive figurine in [Figure 7.9](#) is an exceptional example.

Amulets appear most often in the visual sources worn by infants, and most frequently in the *choes* ([Figure 2.3](#)) used in celebration of the Athenian festival *Anthesteria* (see [Chapter 2](#), p. 38).<sup>180</sup> Strings of multiple amulets (*baskania*) worn across the chest are generally believed to have protected the vulnerable child from malevolent forces.<sup>181</sup> Whereas the amulets worn by adults are usually shown as simple beads, those worn by children are variously depicted as pendants in the shapes of leaves, butterflies, spheres, or crescent moons.<sup>182</sup> A few lunate amulets made of silver, bronze, and iron have been recovered archaeologically, including one exceptional example found in the tomb of an infant at Olynthus dating to the end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth century.<sup>183</sup> Moon-shaped amulets may have connected the wearer with Artemis as protectress of infants and children.<sup>184</sup> Many amulets were likely made of perishable materials, including colored strings or knots, which are often represented in the visual sources wound around the wrist (and therefore perhaps indistinguishable from bracelets made of other materials).<sup>185</sup> It is equally likely that some small objects found in graves may have served as amulets, but have not been identified as such.

Because infants, especially male children, are rarely shown wearing garments, amulet strings are their primary dress. Likewise, because they lack the means to conceal the amulets beneath their clothing – as their mothers likely did – amulet strings serve to broadcast their identities – not unlike *hetairai*. While the amulet string was certainly a marker for young children, single



amulets may have likewise identified *hetairai* as having less-than-adult status. Some later literary evidence suggests that the use of magical amulets was particularly associated with women. Theophrastus, in a fragment of his lost *Ethics* preserved in Plutarch's life of *Pericles* (38.2), claims that "freethinking" Pericles was goaded by his womenfolk into wearing an amulet as he suffered from the plague.<sup>186</sup> Women were generally identified with superstition and magic in the Greek mindset,<sup>187</sup> and it may be that amulets were gendered feminine.

The feminine connotations of jewelry reflect constructions of gender in a profound way. Women were valued for their extrinsic adornment, marking their bodies in opposition to "natural" male bodies.<sup>188</sup> Jewelry was highly visible, especially around the face, emphasizing the beauty of the wearer.<sup>189</sup> Some types of jewelry, such as bangle-type bracelets, also had an aural effect, so that the identity of the wearer could be broadcast even from beneath garments. The fact that some articles of jewelry, such as amulets, could be revealed or concealed at the discretion of the wearer suggests a degree of personal agency. The ability of women to control visual access to the head and face is made manifest in veiling practices.

#### VEILING AND HEADGEAR

It has been argued that headgear is the most significant article of dress for the construction of identities.<sup>190</sup> Because veils, hats, and other head coverings are worn in close proximity to the face, they are strongly implicated in face-to-face interaction. On the other hand, headgear is visible across distances in a way that other types of dress are not. Veils and other head coverings are likewise important for controlling visual access to the hair, which is itself symbolically charged in many societies.<sup>191</sup> It will be seen that although head coverings are primarily gendered feminine in ancient Greece, males also cover their heads in specific contexts.

#### *Veiling*

Veiling practices in antiquity have enjoyed a resurgence of interest over the past decade, partly in response to the increased visibility of Muslim *hijab* in the West.<sup>192</sup> Although classicists have generally recognized that ancient Greek women veiled, the significance of the practice has been discounted.<sup>193</sup> On the one hand, veiling was traditionally considered an "Oriental" phenomenon, and therefore unacceptable for the Greeks as the progenitors of the Western tradition. On the other hand, Westerners, and especially Western feminists, often view veiling as an instrument for women's oppression, a subject that is itself fraught with controversy. Finally, scholarly neglect can be blamed on the



evidence itself: although veils and veiling are mentioned in Greek literature, women are not generally veiled in Greek art. But recent research has helped to fill in the gaps in our understanding of veiling practices, revealing a rich mode of nonverbal communication that was essential to the Greek construction of gender.

Veils and veiling are mentioned in Greek literature as early as Homer. That veiling is specifically associated with women is clear from Hesiod's description of the creation of Pandora in the *Theogony* (see [Chapter 2](#), p. 34). Although a broad range of types is named in the literary sources, the most common terms are *kredemnon*, *kaluptre*, and *kalumma*, all of which imply covering or binding the head.<sup>194</sup> Beyond this, it is difficult to ascertain their appearance, or even what part of the head is covered. (Only the hair? Also the face?)

Conversely, although veils of various types are depicted in the visual sources, it is impossible to identify them by name.<sup>195</sup> In his monograph on Greek veiling practices, Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones has identified several categories of veils in Greek sculpture and vase painting. The earliest representations show strong Orientalizing influences; the use of veils may also be traced to the Near East.<sup>196</sup> By the Archaic period, women commonly employed their mantles as veils. Llewellyn-Jones identifies two types, the *pharos* veil and the *himation* veil, both of which could be pulled over the head and/or face as needed (e.g., [Figures 3.9, 5.7](#); see also [Figure 7.10](#)).<sup>197</sup> In the High Classical period, women are also depicted drawing the overfold of the *peplos* over the head, as seen on a bronze *peplophoros* statuette in the Louvre ([Figure 5.15](#); see also [Figures 4.6, 4.10](#)).<sup>198</sup> Separate head veils (which Llewellyn-Jones identifies with the Muslim *shaal* veil) are often difficult to discern in the visual sources.<sup>199</sup> An exceptionally clear example is worn by a seated woman spinning thread on a red-figure *alabastron* by the Pan Painter formally in Berlin ([Figure 5.16a](#)). Her shoulder-length, spotted, fringed veil is diaphanous, showing her hair underneath.<sup>200</sup> The transparent quality of some *shaal* veils makes them difficult



5.15. Bronze statuette of a *peplophoros*, ca. 425 BCE, Musée du Louvre Br 297, Paris. Photo: Hervé Lewandowski. ©RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.



5.16. Attic red-figure *alabastron*, Pan Painter, ca. 470 BCE, Antikenmuseum, Staatliche Museen F 2254, Berlin. Lost in WWII, current whereabouts unclear. ©bpk, Berlin/Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Germany/Art Resource, NY.

to discern in low relief (e.g., Figures 4.22, 5.14, 7.18), though the star pattern on the bride's veil in Figure 7.8 distinguishes it from her plain *chiton*.

Veiling is primarily a feminine practice. Both brides and married women are represented grasping the edge of the veil to hold it away from the face.<sup>201</sup> The identity of the seated spinner in Figure 5.16a is debated, but the presence of the male figure leaning on his walking stick, bearing a money bag (Figure 5.16b), may indicate that she is a *hetaira*.<sup>202</sup> Other female entertainers employ the veil in the so-called mantle dance, as shown on a red-figure column *krater* by the Eupolis Painter at Mount Holyoke (Figure 5.17).<sup>203</sup> The only females who seem not to veil are slaves and young girls.

Although the veil was certainly multivalent, its primary meaning had to do with *aidos*, modesty.<sup>204</sup> A proper Greek woman preserved her honor, and that of her husband, by concealing herself from the gaze of strange men. On the one hand, women were considered vulnerable, and the veil provided a means of protection.<sup>205</sup> On the other hand, the veil also protected the *community* from



5.17. Eupolis Painter (Greek, Attic, 450–420 BCE), red-figure column *krater* with veiled dancers, ceramic with black glaze, 450–440 BCE, purchase with the Nancy Everett Dwight Fund, Mount Holyoke College Art Museum, South Hadley, Massachusetts, Petegorsky/Gipe photo, 1913.I.B.SII.

the *wearer*, who was herself a source of pollution in the Greek mindset.<sup>206</sup> This profound ambivalence of the veil underscores its potential significance as a means of nonverbal communication. As well demonstrated by Llewellyn-Jones, women could manipulate the veil to reveal or conceal; the veil is a charged symbol of feminine agency.<sup>207</sup>

But males veiled too, in specific circumstances. For example, the youth in the center of the red-figure *stamnos* by the Kleophon Painter in the Hermitage (Figure 5.18) has drawn his *himation* over his head, shielding himself from the gaze of the two men on either side.<sup>208</sup> As Gloria Ferrari has eloquently shown, the youths veil like women because they are also objects of male sexual desire. Like a proper woman, a desirable youth displays *aidos*; the veiling mantle is *aidos* “made visible.”<sup>209</sup> But adult men also veiled, when they were consumed by extreme emotions such as anger or grief.<sup>210</sup> In such situations they were removed from the masculine ideal; by taking on the veil, they were likened to women. On the one hand, veils covered the face, hiding negative emotions;



5.18. Red-figure *stamnos*, side B, Kleophon Painter, ca. 450–400 BCE, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2415, Munich. ©Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München; photograph by Renate Kühling.

on the other hand, the gesture of veiling called attention to a man's emotional state and may have elicited others' sympathy. But whereas men's veiling was understood as a temporary means of social distancing, women's honor was permanently at stake; hence, they were always properly veiled when in the public sphere.<sup>211</sup>

#### *Bindings of the Head and Hair: Taenia, Sakkos, Mitra*

While the veil allowed women (and men) to cover and uncover their heads and faces at will, other types of headgear bound the head and hair in a more constant manner.<sup>212</sup> Female figures are regularly depicted wearing fillets (*taeniae*), ribbons, or hairbands of various types.<sup>213</sup> As discussed in [Chapter 3](#), *parthenoi* are often distinguished in vase painting by the presence of a fillet binding their long hair into a kind of low ponytail cascading down the back (e.g., [Figure 3.9](#)).<sup>214</sup> Adult women regularly wear fillets tied around the head, binding





5.19. Attic red-figure *stamnos*, Smikros, ca. 550–500 BCE, Musées Royaux A717, Brussels. ©KIK-IRPA, Brussels.

their hair into a chignon or bun (especially clear examples are [Figures 4.21, 5.12, 5.23, 7.8](#)). The tying of hairbands is a common motif in bridal imagery (e.g., [Figure 7.7b](#)).<sup>215</sup> That such bands will be untied like the bridal *zone* is suggested by images of *hetairai* untying their hairbands in the presence of their clients, some of whom also wear fillets (e.g., [Figure 5.19](#)).<sup>216</sup> The erotic connotation of fillets extends also to male youths, who regularly receive fillets as prizes for athletic victory or at the *Euandria*, a kind of male beauty contest celebrated at the Panathenaia ([Figure 7.15](#)).<sup>217</sup>

It is often difficult to distinguish fillets and hairbands from other types of head coverings, namely, the *mitra* and *sakkos*, which are themselves sometimes conflated. Most scholars agree that the *mitra* was something like a turban, created by winding a more or less narrow band of fabric around the head.<sup>218</sup> The *sakkos*, as its name suggests, was a kind of “sack” or snood that contained the hair.<sup>219</sup> Both *sakkoi* and *mitrai* are worn by adult females, proper women (e.g., [Figures 4.10, 4.23, 7.8, 7.15](#) [*Nike*]) as well as *hetairai* (e.g., [Figure 4.12](#)) and slaves (e.g., [Figure 4.22](#)).<sup>220</sup> The word *sakkos* is of Semitic origin, and it is possible that this type of hairnet was introduced by foreign-born courtesans and household laborers.<sup>221</sup> The *mitra*

certainly had Eastern connotations, as it was worn not only by women but also by male *symposiasts* emulating effeminate foreigners (Figure 7.13).<sup>222</sup>

### *Hats and Caps*

Whereas veiling and head bindings are gendered feminine, hats are generally worn by men in ancient Greece.<sup>223</sup> Unlike veils and other head coverings, hats are separate articles of dress that are easily put on or taken off; hence, they construct identity in a more intermittent fashion. Although hats of various types are known from the visual and textual evidence, elite men left their heads uncovered most of the time – in contrast to women. Indeed, most hats seem to have been special purpose items worn for the protection of the head.

The *pilos* and the *petasos* are the most common types of hats in the Archaic and Classical periods. In general, the *pilos* is a close-fitting skullcap, while the *petasos* is a broad-brimmed hat secured on the head by means of a cord or string. The *pilos* has been identified in several different variations. Craftsmen, especially metalworkers, wear a plain cap perhaps made of leather as a means of protection for the head (e.g., Figure 2.7), while rustic laborers, including shepherds and fishermen, are often identified by a softer version made of wool, fur, or animal skin.<sup>224</sup> But elite men also wear a type of *pilos*, often with a narrow brim, for travel (e.g., Figure 4.20). The broad-brimmed *petasos* also provided protection from the elements, and is worn by travelers, especially young *epheboi* (e.g., Figure 4.20; Figure 4.26).<sup>225</sup> The *petasos* is often represented slung back over the shoulders (emphasized in Figure 4.20 with added white; the prospective groom in Figure 7.8). The meaning of the hat would therefore be retained, even when not worn on the head. A variety of broad-brimmed hats were worn in Macedonia,<sup>226</sup> and *petasoi* may have retained “northern” connotations in Attic iconography.

Foreigners in Greek art are frequently identifiable by their headgear.<sup>227</sup> Scythian archers are depicted wearing the *kurbasia*, a cap with a tall crown, sometimes graduated to a point, with long flaps to protect the cheeks and the back of the neck (Figure 4.15).<sup>228</sup> Thracians wear the distinctive *alopekis* made of an animal skin, often a fox, with the intact tail hanging down the back.<sup>229</sup> The Persian *kidaris* is sometimes confused with the Scythian cap, but was made of a soft material, perhaps felt.<sup>230</sup> The fact that Greek men sometimes wore barbarian caps to “play the other” in the context of the symposium demonstrates the ease with which identity was construed by means of headgear.<sup>231</sup>

### *Footwear*

Ancient Greek footwear was tremendously diverse, and, like other aspects of dress, imbued with social meaning. Surprisingly, it has received scant attention



from scholars.<sup>232</sup> Part of the problem may be the nature of the evidence. Actual shoes do not survive intact for the Greek period, as they do in the Roman world.<sup>233</sup> Many statues are broken at the ankle, a natural point of weakness, so that the feet are either lost or survive only as disembodied appendages (e.g., [Figure 5.21](#)). In stone sculpture, sandals and shoes were often indicated by means of paint rather than carved in relief (e.g., [Figures 4.8](#); 4.9; 4.22; 7.3; 7.18); though polychromy is often lost to the elements, recent scientific analysis has restored the appearance of some types of footwear.<sup>234</sup> Many names for types of footwear have been preserved in the textual sources, but as with garments and other accessories, it is often difficult to identify specific examples in the visual evidence.<sup>235</sup> It is quite likely that footwear has been overlooked because it is not so highly visible as garments or other accessories worn around the head and upper body. The practical function of footwear, to protect the feet, may obscure its nonfunctional aspects. Finally, more than any other article of dress, footwear is often sullied by regular contact with the ground, which may contribute to its lowly status among scholars.

But the rich evidence that does survive demonstrates the fundamental importance of footwear for the ancient Greeks. In the *Republic* (369D), Plato lists cobblers, alongside farmers, carpenters, and weavers, as essential workers in the ideal city.<sup>236</sup> The workshop of Simon, “perhaps the best-known shoemaker of antiquity,” has been identified in the excavations of the Athenian Agora in close proximity to several important civic buildings.<sup>237</sup> Various literary sources describe cobblers’ shops as busy gathering places full of gossip.<sup>238</sup> Several black-figure vase paintings document shoemakers fitting shoes for their customers – both male and female – as for example on the *amphora* by the Plousios Painter in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston ([Figure 5.20](#)).<sup>239</sup>

Despite the limitations of the visual evidence, an extraordinary variety of footwear survives



5.20. Attic black-figure *amphora*, Plousios Painter, ca. 500–490 BCE, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8035, Boston. Photograph ©2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



5.21. Ivory feet from a chryselephantine statue, sixth century BCE, Archaeological Museum 9946 and 9947, Delphi. ©Vanni Archive/Art Resource, NY.

from the earliest periods of Greek art. Sandals may be simple yoked thongs, which appear primarily on female figures (e.g., [Figure 5.21](#); also Phrasikleia, [Figure 5.8](#)), or more elaborate strapped “network” sandals, which are worn by both sexes.<sup>240</sup> In the early Classical period, an especially sturdy type of punched leather “network” sandal appears as the footwear of travelers; ancient authors identify this type of footwear as *krepides*, which had its origin, together with the *chlamys*, in Macedonia.<sup>241</sup> Actual examples of such shoes recovered from graves were studded with hobnails to minimize wear.<sup>242</sup> A sort of hybrid sandal-shoe with straps lacing together solid leather sides and heel has been identified as *trochades*, which were made of goatskin.<sup>243</sup> The statue of Mausolos from Halikarnassos wears elaborate *trochades* over a type of sock.<sup>244</sup>

Actual shoes that cover the foot to the ankle seem to have originated in the Near East. The soft slippers known as *persikai* were clearly of Eastern origin; the names of other types, for example, *seleukides*, likewise suggest a foreign source.<sup>245</sup> Such exotic styles were not always imported; indeed, it has been suggested that *persikai* were made domestically, by Greek shoemakers.<sup>246</sup> In Aristophanes, *persikai* are clearly luxury footwear worn by Greek women (*Lysistrata*, 229–230). But they are rare in the iconography, save for the caryatid mirror stands.<sup>247</sup> Myttion ([Figure 4.24](#)) appears to wear soft boots or shoes together with her sleeved *kandys*; traces of red paint survive on the right foot.<sup>248</sup> Similar shoes are worn by the maidservant on the Hegeso stele ([Figure 4.22](#)),

who also wears a sleeved garment as a reflection of her foreign status.<sup>249</sup> The curious red shoes with upturned toes worn by the (equally curious) Acropolis *kore* #683, identified as eastern *akatia*, have confounded the identification of the wearer.<sup>250</sup> Although shoes are generally worn by women, it is worth noting that male figures also wear soft slippers in the context of the symposium (e.g., [Figure 3.10, 4.12](#)), perhaps as a symbol of Eastern luxury.<sup>251</sup> Red Laconian shoes were apparently fashionable among elite youths in Athens in the second half of the fifth century, as a statement against democracy.<sup>252</sup>

Boots extending over the calf are commonly represented in both sculpture and vase painting. In the Archaic period, laced *endromides* (literally boots to “run in”) are found mostly in western Greece, where they were likely borrowed from the Etruscans, who in turn adopted the style from the Near East.<sup>253</sup> They appear primarily on male figures, for example, Kleobis and Biton, the twin *kouroi* from Delphi, and on active mythological females such as the Gorgon in the pediment of the temple of Artemis on Corfu. By the Classical period, *embades* are the most prevalent type, distinguished from Archaic *endromides* by the presence of flaps around the cuff.<sup>254</sup> They seem to have been adopted from Thrace together with the *zeira* and *alopekis*.<sup>255</sup> Xenophon specifies that *embades* were made of leather to prevent chafing while riding on horseback; they are worn by many cavalymen in the Parthenon frieze.<sup>256</sup> Soft, unlaced, boots, sometimes with pointed toes (perhaps called *kothornoî*), appear frequently in vase painting as an article of women’s dress.<sup>257</sup> These boots are a frequent motif in scenes of (un)dressing, and especially bathing (e.g., [Figure 3.4](#)), where they are either held in the woman’s hand, or set on the floor or a low stool.<sup>258</sup> It is quite possible that these scenes should be read as images of *hetairai* preparing for their customers.<sup>259</sup> Similar boots are worn by mantle dancers (e.g., [Figure 5.17](#)), but also by men dressed as effeminate foreigners in the context of the symposium (e.g., [Figure 7.13](#)).<sup>260</sup> Perhaps, like *persikai*, such boots carried connotations of Eastern luxury.<sup>261</sup>

Proper footwear was generally expected in public contexts, but would be removed upon entering the house, as well as the *palaestra* and in ritual contexts. The famous relief of a Nike untying her sandal, from the balustrade of the temple of Athena Nike on the Athenian Acropolis ([Figure 6.8](#)) demonstrates in a literal way the expected behavior of worshippers entering the sanctuary.<sup>262</sup> Shoes marked various transitions in Greek life – and death. As early as the Geometric period, terra cotta shoes were deposited in the graves of women and girls; Archaic vases in the shape of shod female feet and legs may represent a continuation of this practice.<sup>263</sup> Certainly death represents the ultimate transition, but the fact that shoes were found only in female graves suggests that they had particular associations with marriage and fertility.<sup>264</sup>

Indeed, footwear figures prominently in nuptial iconography.<sup>265</sup> In [Figure 5.7](#), Eros kneels to tie the sandals of the bride; in other examples, the bride fastens

them herself, or a female attendant may do the honors. The bridal sandals (*nymphides*) represent the physical transition of the *nymphes* from her father's household to that of her new husband, but they also symbolize her ultimate transition from *parthenos* to *gyne*. But the sandal-tying motif appears also on symposium vessels, performed by both *hetairai* and beardless youths.<sup>266</sup> On a basic level, these figures are preparing for their transition to the ritual space of the symposium. But, like the brides in the nuptial scenes, both are desirable potential partners for the elite male symposiasts, underscoring the erotic connotations of sandal tying.

The erotics of footwear are clear from ancient literary sources describing sandals and shoes as a means of feminine allure.<sup>267</sup> In Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, the heroine of the play suggests that the women of Athens can win back the attention of their husbands by wearing "pleasure-boat slippers" together with revealing garments, perfumes, and cosmetics (42–48).<sup>268</sup> In the same passage in which he rails against his wife's use of cosmetics, Xenophon criticizes her for wearing platform shoes to make herself appear taller (*Oeconomicus*, 10.2). The erotics of feet are a common motif in Greek literature, and it is clear that such connotations were transferred to footwear as well.<sup>269</sup> It is interesting to note that the thong-type sandals that expose much of the foot and ankle are especially feminine (e.g., [Figure 5.21](#)). The high degree of realism of the modeling of the sandaled feet of the *korai* has been interpreted as an "outward sign of the women's beauty."<sup>270</sup> The fact that *hetairai* are generally shown holding their boots, rather than wearing them, likewise suggests a dynamic of covering and revealing the feet and legs.

Indeed, footwear retains its erotic significance even when it is not worn on the foot. Pairs of boots are frequently represented beneath the couches of reclining symposiasts, suggesting on the one hand that they have been removed in the interior space of the *andron*, and on the other hand, that their wearer is ready to partake in the transformative experience of the *symposion*. As Sue Blundell has acutely observed, "discarded boots or shoes imply release from normal constraints."<sup>271</sup> Such "release" is perhaps most explicit in several scenes of sexual violence, in which *hetairai* are beaten by men wielding sandals.<sup>272</sup>

#### HANDHELD ACCESSORIES

A wide range of articles of dress was held in the hand rather than attached to the body in some way. The distinction between handheld accessories and other objects held by the dressed individual is somewhat arbitrary.<sup>273</sup> The following types of objects have been selected either because they are implicated in other dress practices (e.g., mirrors, the athlete's kit) or because they appear regularly together with other, specific, articles of dress (e.g., walking sticks with men's *himatia*). An important feature of handheld accessories is that they are readily

manipulated by the user; they can even be held by an attendant (e.g., mirrors, parasols, and fans).

### *Mirrors*

Mirrors are a distinctly feminine attribute. Ancient authors describe them as luxurious articles of women's dress. Likewise, mirrors are associated exclusively with women in Greek vase painting (e.g., [Figures 3.5, 3.7, 3.14, 5.16, 6.2, 7.7](#)), in grave reliefs, and on gemstones (e.g., [Figure 5.14](#)); the few men depicted with mirrors offer them to *hetairai* in exchange for their services.<sup>274</sup> Finally, actual mirrors preserved archaeologically are frequently decorated with images of women, most notably the bronze caryatid mirrors dating to the sixth and fifth centuries BCE (e.g., [Figure 5.22](#)). The significance of mirrors for the construction of ideal femininity cannot be overstated.<sup>275</sup> But, as with cosmetics, jewelry, and other decidedly feminine dress practices, mirrors reflect complex notions of gender, status, and sexuality.

That mirrors are feminine articles is clear from both comedy and tragedy. In Aristophanes' *Women at the Thesmophoria*, a character of uncertain gender is questioned: "What confoundment of living is this? What has a lute to chat about with a yellow dress? Or a lyre with a hairnet? Here's an oil flask and a brassiere: how ill-fitting! And what's this society of mirror and sword?" (137–140). The tragic beauty of Helen is underscored in multiple references to her use of mirrors (Euripides, *Orestes*, 1112; *Trojan Women*, 1108–1109). Curiously, mirrors are not mentioned in Hesiod's descriptions of the adornment of Pandora (see [Chapter 2](#), p. 34); perhaps the omission underscores the fact that Pandora's beauty is a gift of the gods, rather than the result of her own manipulations.<sup>276</sup>

Mirrors are also distinctly erotic.<sup>277</sup> Certainly mirrors facilitated the ordering of one's personal appearance "for sexually motivated reasons."<sup>278</sup> Aphrodite was especially associated with mirrors, particularly in the myth of the Judgment of Paris. But mirrors were implicated in erotic love on a metaphorical level as well. Just as a mirror "traps"



5.22. Bronze caryatid mirror, mid-fifth century BCE, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971 (1972.118.78), New York. ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



the image of the beholder, so the lover is entrapped in the erotic mirror. The seductive qualities of the mirror itself are underscored by the presence of sirens as well as *erotes* as decorative elements on surviving mirrors (e.g., Figure 5.22).

Many mirrors survive archaeologically, in whole or in part.<sup>279</sup> The most common type was simply a polished bronze convex disk with an attached grip handle; sometimes the handle was integral with the disk, but it could also be made of a separate material such as wood or ivory. A ring at the top allowed the mirror to be hung from a peg on the wall, as shown on many vase paintings (e.g., Figures 3.14, 5.16, 7.7). More elaborate versions were provided with a footed base so that the mirror could stand on a flat surface. The most complex examples incorporated a standing female figure as the handle, often with supplementary decorative attachments including *erotes*, sirens, birds, and other animals.<sup>280</sup> Undressed figures have been interpreted as *hetairai*, acrobats, or participants in cult.<sup>281</sup> The dressed examples, which likely represent ideal maidens rather than Aphrodite or her priestesses, follow the same conventions as in large-scale sculpture: Archaic figures wear *chiton* and *himation*; Classical figures are *peplophoroi*. (Figure 5.22) like the celebrated Baker mirror in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.<sup>282</sup> Starting in the mid-fourth century, the grip-mirror was supplanted by the case-mirror (represented, for example, in 3.8, where it is held by a standing woman adjusting her hairband).<sup>283</sup> Not unlike a modern compact, it incorporated a hinged cover that was itself reflective, in order to illuminate the viewer as she gazed into the mirror. An important feature of ancient mirrors is that their convex shape allowed for an expanded viewing area. A modern experiment undertaken by Gisela Richter at the Metropolitan Museum demonstrated that such a mirror would reflect not only the face, but the entire head and upper chest.<sup>284</sup>

Mirrors are common finds in women's graves and were dedicated in sanctuaries, to Aphrodite and other female divinities. Although the identity of their owners is often unrecoverable, it may be assumed that they were wealthy, because of the expense of the bronze. An association with the elite is confirmed by many pictorial representations of elegantly dressed women looking into mirrors held by an attendant or themselves; alternatively, as mentioned, mirrors hanging on the wall mark the interior, feminine, space.<sup>285</sup> Many of the women are engaged in woolworking (e.g., Figures 5.16, 6.2), as indicated by the presence of a *kalathos* and/or by a spindle, which is sometimes difficult to distinguish morphologically from a hand mirror.<sup>286</sup> That mirrors appear together with woolworking implements suggests that they likewise functioned as icons of ideal femininity. On the other hand, woolworking certainly had erotic connotations, and mirrors likewise reflected a woman's beauty and therefore her sexual allure.<sup>287</sup> It is quite possible that, like cosmetics, mirrors were used by



both proper women and *hetairai*. Arguments have been made for the identification of some mirror handlers on vases as *hetairai*, and the erotic imagery on many case-mirrors has likewise been linked with courtesans.<sup>288</sup>

The self-referential aspect of mirrors is implicated in the individual construction of identity in a profound way. In a world before photography and webcams, the hand mirror provided a rare glimpse of how the dressed individual was perceived by others. But given the erotic connotations of mirrors, the relationship between the viewer and her reflection is much more complex. As seen in [Figure 3.7](#), the woman literally grasps her own image in her hand. In the case of the caryatid mirrors (e.g., [Figure 5.22](#)) and the decorated case-mirrors, the viewer would compare her own appearance with that of the ideal maiden, which invited emulation.<sup>289</sup> Hence, the woman is not a passive viewer of her own reflection, but she actively employs the mirror in the construction of her own appearance, in the performance of her identity.<sup>290</sup>

### *Fans*

Fans, like mirrors, were certainly gendered feminine in ancient Greece; they also carried luxurious connotations of the East.<sup>291</sup> Fans were a central feature of royal iconography in the Near East long before they appear on Attic vases starting in the middle of the fifth century BCE. The mechanism by which fans became known in Athens is unclear, though perhaps tragic drama played a role: the Phrygian slave in Euripides' *Orestes* identifies himself as Helen's fan bearer (1426–1430). The earliest representations on vases are in scenes featuring Oriental kings attended by male fan bearers. But by the end of the fifth century, fans regularly appear on “women's pots,” especially in scenes of bridal preparations. As seen in [Figure 5.23](#), the fan is held by a female attendant rather than the bride herself, as a symbol of conspicuous leisure.<sup>292</sup> Although actual fans do not survive archaeologically in Greece, they are consistently represented as “feather-fans” with long plumes attached to ornate handles, which could be long or short. The type of feathers employed may have provided further opportunities for the display of exotic luxury.<sup>293</sup>

### *Parasols*

Like fans, parasols were borrowed from the Near East, where they were held by kings' attendants.<sup>294</sup> They were adopted first in Anatolia and East Greece, where actual parasol fittings have been recovered archaeologically dating to the late seventh and early sixth centuries BCE.<sup>295</sup> Parasols appear in Attic vase painting in the sixth century BCE, where they are generally held by an attendant for an elite female. Perhaps not surprisingly, parasols were employed



5.23. Attic red-figure *lebes gamikos*, Painter of London 1923, ca. 420 BCE, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS 410, Basel.

outdoors, especially in ritual contexts. According to the textual sources, parasols were carried by the daughters of metics for *kanephoroi* in the Panathenaic procession.<sup>296</sup> Like fans, parasols connoted Eastern luxury and conferred elite status, especially when held by someone of inferior status. But whereas fans were employed by women in private, domestic spaces, parasols were carried out of doors; hence, they “broadcast” identity in the public sphere. Of course, the highly visible parasol had a practical function as well, shading elite women from the sun, thus preserving their ideal, pale, complexion.

But parasols seem to have been employed by men as well, in the ritual context of the *symposion*. Among the so-called Anacreontic vases, approximately one third show bearded men wearing Eastern (or feminine) dress and holding parasols (e.g., [Figure 7.13](#)).<sup>297</sup> Interestingly, these parasols are held by the users themselves, not attendants, as they are by some “maenads” on the so-called Lenaia *stamnoi*. Marie-Hélène Delavaud-Roux has suggested that the male parasol users perform a parody of maenadic dances.<sup>298</sup> The autophoretic usage of the parasol by men as well as maenads reflects an inversion of proper

feminine, allophoretic practice. The essentially feminine quality of the parasol is confirmed by multiple writers, including Aristophanes (*Women at the Thesmophoria*, 821–829) who juxtaposes the woman’s woolworking equipment and parasol against men’s weaponry.<sup>299</sup>

### *Athlete’s Kit*

Just as the mirror served as an icon of feminine beauty, the so-called athlete’s kit marked the beautiful male. As described in [Chapter 3](#), the *strigil*, *aryballos*, and sponge were employed by athletes to cleanse their bodies following exercise ([Figures 3.1, 3.2, 3.3](#)). But these articles of body modification often appear as significant objects in their own right, grouped together in close juxtaposition to ideal male figures. Like the woman’s mirror, the athlete’s kit is often represented as if hanging on a peg on a wall. Kilmer understood the athlete’s kit as an indicator for a gymnasium setting.<sup>300</sup> Marina Fischer further suggests that the *strigil*–*aryballos*–sponge group connoted the pederastic bond between *erastes* and *eromenos* among the Athenian elite.<sup>301</sup> But no youths are present in [Figure 2.7b](#), in which athlete’s kits appear in conjunction with elegantly draped, bearded, men leaning on their walking sticks.<sup>302</sup> Perhaps the *aryballoi* and *strigils* allude to the homosexual activities of the *symposion*: the men wear soft slippers like other *symposiasts*; and the scene does appear on the exterior of a *kylix* (drinking cup).<sup>303</sup> On the other hand, perhaps these articles of body modification indicate that the men themselves are properly groomed in preparation for the *symposion*. Like the mirror, the athlete’s kit retains its meaning, even when it is not in active use.

### *Money Bags*

The fact that money bags or purses are represented most frequently in the hands of men reflects economic reality: in general, only men were allowed to own property (in Athens at least), and familial wealth was bequeathed by means of patrilineal descent. It is also clear from the iconography of vase painting that men wielded economic power over women, though the social relationships between the purse bearers and the intended recipients are often unclear to modern viewers.<sup>304</sup>

A red-figure *alabastron* by the Pan Painter in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin ([Figure 5.16](#)) depicts a beardless male wearing a *himation* decorated with small crosses, leaning on a walking stick.<sup>305</sup> In his right hand is a small pouch, probably made of leather or fabric, which he extends to an elegantly dressed woman seated on a chair with her feet resting on a footstool. She wears a fine *chiton*

that reveals the shape of her breasts, and a *himation* decorated with the same small crosses as that worn by the youth. Her carefully arranged coiffure, a low chignon with one curly lock of hair descending from behind her ear, is clearly visible beneath a transparent veil covering her head (but not her face). Her gaze is lowered toward the drop spindle with which she spins thread; an attendant brings a mirror and a *kalathos*, and another *kalathos* is visible on the ground behind the chair. A mirror and a *lekythos*, perhaps holding perfumed oil, are suspended on the wall above the seated woman. The identity of the woman is unclear: her elegant dress, perfume and mirror, her seated pose, and the presence of the attendant all suggest that she is a woman of leisure; the woolworking and perhaps also her veil suggest a proper, elite woman. Is the man bearing the purse a suitor wooing her with a cash gift? Or is he hoping to purchase the services of a *hetaira*, who displays many of the same characteristics as a proper woman? An alternative reading is that the pouch contains *astragaloi* (knucklebones used as game pieces) rather than coins, which removes the economic factor from courtship.<sup>306</sup> The fact that this scene appears on a woman's *alabastron* does not aid our reading: similar images appear on a range of shapes associated with the *symposion* as well as so-called women's pots; and money bags are also offered to youthful males. Eva Keuls's assessment of the money bag or purse as an "economic phallus" is correct in part.<sup>307</sup> But Sian Lewis is right to emphasize that purses are never shown in the hands of their intended recipients, which implies that the woman or youth retains the power to refuse.<sup>308</sup>

### *Walking Sticks*

Adult men are represented so frequently with walking sticks that they could almost be considered another bodily appendage! In most cases, the men lean on the stick on the left side, with the draped *himation* folded underneath the armpit to serve as a kind of cushion. The right arm is thus free for action, or to rest in a self-referential gesture displaying the undressed torso (e.g., Figure 2.7b).<sup>309</sup> The elegant garment, pose, and gestures identify the users of walking sticks as men of leisure, as is clear also from the contexts of their use, in particular at the *symposion* (Figures 3.10; 4.12; 6.1), or courting women (Figures 4.13; 5.16b) or youths (Figures 5.18; 6.7; 6.9). Walking sticks retain their meaning even when not actively in use: for example, the *symposiast* in Figure 3.10 has set aside his walking stick and *himation* in order to enjoy the services of a *hetaira*. Certainly the walking stick had a practical function, to aid in keeping one's balance; old men are generally represented using sticks in this manner (e.g., Figure 3.12; also the old Thracian nurse in Figure 3.17).<sup>310</sup> But walking sticks had a purely symbolic significance as well: starting in the

late sixth century BCE, they replaced weapons such as swords and spears as markers of elite status.<sup>311</sup>

Handheld accessories might be considered less meaningful than other aspects of dress on account of the ease with which they may be renounced by the user. On the other hand, the manipulation of such objects by the dressed individuals suggests that they might be especially charged. It is clear that accessories generally held great significance in the ancient Greek dress system. Their importance is underscored by the fact that they are frequently worn by those who are otherwise “undressed,” as demonstrated in the [next chapter](#).

## THE BODY AS DRESS

While this volume is concerned primarily with modifications and supplements to the body in ancient Greece, the body itself comprised a form of dress in particular social contexts. Indeed, as famously formulated by Larissa Bonfante, nudity was a “costume” in ancient Greece.<sup>1</sup> Nudity (or *nakedness*) has been explored by classicists on the basis of the ancient visual and textual evidence, usually with the aim of reconstructing its origins and significance. Historians of later Western art have also investigated nudity in an attempt to explain the primacy of the nude in sculpture and painting that survived more than two and a half millennia. Feminist art historians in particular have questioned the constructed meanings of the female nude within the Western art historical tradition. Finally, sociologists have studied nudity in modern culture, providing new analytical approaches to the social functions of nudity in antiquity.

The discourse surrounding nudity in ancient Greece has followed multiple tracks, in part because of the complexity of the evidence: while ancient texts generally refer to the undressed body as it was actually experienced (or was thought to have been experienced), the visual evidence represents an artistic construct of that lived experience. In addition, while the visual sources reflected a particular set of meanings at the time of their creation, they have had a long and storied “afterlife,” which has in turn influenced the way we interpret such images as modern viewers. This chapter traces these different strains of scholarship in order to lay the groundwork for my own approach,



in which I attempt to reconstruct, as well as possible, the social experiences of undressed bodies in ancient Greece. I argue that the meanings attached to undressed bodies were situational and must be understood within their particular contexts.

#### NAKED OR NUDE? CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON UNDRRESS

The terminology used to describe the undressed body has been the subject of much debate. In general English parlance, the terms *naked* and *nude* are often conflated.<sup>2</sup> But art historian Kenneth Clark, in his highly influential *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form* (1956), argued for the following distinction:

To be naked is to be deprived of our clothes, and the word implies some of the embarrassment most of us feel in that condition. The word “nude,” on the other hand, carries, in educated usage, no uncomfortable overtone. The vague image it projects into the mind is not of a huddled and defenseless body, but of a balanced, prosperous, and confident body: the body re-formed.<sup>3</sup>

As will be seen, the positive associations of nudity are generally ascribed to male figures, while the negative connotations of nakedness are frequently associated with female figures. While feminist art historians have taken issue with this dichotomy, in certain ways it is applicable to the ancient visual and literary evidence; whether such a formulation should apply to actual dress practices is another question.

#### *Classical Perspectives*

The most influential scholar on nudity in ancient Greece is Larissa Bonfante, whose article “Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art” has remained the standard treatment of the subject for a quarter century.<sup>4</sup> Bonfante rightly underscores the unique character of nudity in ancient Greece. Although undress, like dress, is certainly a universal phenomenon, and unclothed figures were a feature of art and life in various cultures of the ancient Mediterranean, only the Greeks considered nudity an essential aspect of their identity.<sup>5</sup> As discussed in [Chapter 3](#), Greek men participated in athletics unclothed, a practice that both Plato and Thucydides identified as specifically Greek.<sup>6</sup> In addition, male figures are consistently (if not exclusively) represented nude from the earliest periods of figurative art. Bonfante is primarily interested in the historical context in which this phenomenon came about, and the identification of various types of nudity (that is, the social contexts in which men appeared, or are represented, nude). Female nudity is a secondary interest and receives comparably scant treatment. In general, Bonfante attributes the significance of nudity to taboo, magic, and ritual: “When the sexual organ was uncovered, its power was unleashed.”<sup>7</sup>

Subsequent work on nudity in the United States and Great Britain has elaborated on various aspects of Bonfante's work, but none has overturned her basic approach. Andrew Stewart surveys much of the same evidence in *Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece*, focusing primarily on the early visual and literary sources.<sup>8</sup> His conclusion, that male nudity functioned primarily as a means of differentiating gender, is useful for the purposes of this study.<sup>9</sup> Robin Osborne likewise emphasizes male nudity as a means of constructing gender, especially in early Greek art. By the Classical period, however, he argues that the male nude was a focal point for explorations of male sexuality, especially homosexuality.<sup>10</sup> Gloria Ferrari also notes the homoerotic effect of the male nude, especially the *kouros* (e.g., Figure 2.4), but she views masculine nudity first and foremost as a reflection of ritual nudity in rites of passage.<sup>11</sup>

A sort of parallel discourse on Greek nudity developed in Germany around the same time as Bonfante's seminal article. Whereas Anglophone classicists have focused more on the social realities of nudity (albeit using the visual sources as evidence), German scholars have emphasized the artistic convention of the Greek nude, in particular the male nude. This approach is less concerned with nudity in life, but has concentrated on the contentious issue of whether nudity in Greek art (sculpture, in particular) should be read as "idealizing" or "heroic." Nikolaus Himmelman is the primary proponent of such a reading, which has been soundly rejected by several scholars.<sup>12</sup>

The issue of the meaning of Greek nudity has recently been re-addressed by two American scholars. Christopher Hallett, in his study of *The Roman Nude*, surveys the Greek evidence, and proposes that instead of identifying all male nudity as "heroic," the term should be reserved for *naked and armed* figures.<sup>13</sup> Jeffrey Hurwit, in his study of the Dexilios stele, likewise reconsiders the notion of "heroic nudity" in Greek art.<sup>14</sup> Suggesting that "the problem is surely more of an artistic than a social one,"<sup>15</sup> Hurwit distinguishes a variety of nudit-ies in Greek art, including heroic, democratic, and athletic nudities, reflecting patterns of male nudity in Greek life. Hence, the arguments surrounding nudity have come back to the social and sociological, as opposed to the purely visual.<sup>16</sup> And, indeed, more recent German scholarship has emphasized the social-historical aspects of the nude. For example, Lukas Thommen views the Classical nude (e.g., Figure 2.5) as a "democratization" of a long-standing tradition of aristocratic nudes, in particular the Archaic *kouroi* (e.g., Figure 2.4).<sup>17</sup> Conversely, Jens Daehner argues that masculine nudity became increasingly more exclusive in the Classical period, when it was reserved for younger figures as a reflection of a new cultural obsession with youth.<sup>18</sup> Finally, Adrian Stähli contends that the primary function of male nudity in art is to distinguish between the sexes, which closely parallels the Anglo-American perspectives of both Stewart and Osborne.<sup>19</sup>

*Art Historical Perspectives*

Although the nude had a particular significance in early Greek art and life, it has proved remarkably influential in later Western art. The artistic type of the nude was borrowed first by the Romans, from whom it was adopted by others as early as the medieval period. Of course, the nude had different meanings in post-Classical times, since being without clothes would have been understood differently within various social contexts. Unfortunately, art historical scholarship has not recognized until recently the contextual meanings of the nude. Since Winckelmann, the nude has been understood as a privileged part of a continuous tradition.<sup>20</sup> Kenneth Clark's highly influential study traced the development of the artistic type from antiquity to the modern period with little consideration for its particular social meanings, with the result that his very conception of the "classical" nude, both male and female, was determined primarily by later interpretations of the nude as an artistic type.

A new conception of the nude vis-à-vis nakedness was formulated by John Berger in *Ways of Seeing*, derived from the BBC television program of the same name.<sup>21</sup> Berger claims: "To be naked is to be oneself. To be nude is to be seen naked by others and yet not recognized for oneself.... Nakedness reveals itself. Nudity is placed on display. To be naked is to be without disguise.... The nude is condemned to never being naked. Nudity is a form of dress."<sup>22</sup> Whereas Clark identified nudity as a negative consequence of being deprived of one's clothing, and the nude as somehow "natural," Berger understands nakedness as the more "real" (and positive) condition for the unclothed body. Berger situates his discussion of nakedness and nudity within a larger exploration of the construction of gender in visual culture. Prefiguring Laura Mulvey's notion of women's *to-be-looked-at-ness*, Berger asserts: "Men act and women appear. Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at."<sup>23</sup> He suggests that in the tradition of European oil painting "women are depicted in quite a different way from men – not because the feminine is different from the masculine – but because the 'ideal' spectator is always assumed to be male and the image of the woman is designed to flatter him."<sup>24</sup> Although Berger does not project his ideas back to antiquity, several classical scholars have demonstrated their applicability.<sup>25</sup>

While Berger introduced gender into the art historical discourse, Lynda Nead was the first to insist on a feminist approach to the female nude.<sup>26</sup> An explicit challenge to Clark, Nead's proclaimed aim is "to set up a general theoretical framework for further historical study of the female nude and to elaborate and specify this argument through the discussion of specific historical cases."<sup>27</sup> She criticizes Clark's binary opposition of naked and nude, noting that in his assessment, his negative "category of the naked belongs to the interior, female set of the body, whereas the [positive] nude is an extension of the

elevated male attributes associated with the mind.”<sup>28</sup> Citing Mary Douglas’s work on the boundaries of the body (see [Chapter 2](#), p. 51 and [Chapter 3](#), p. 54), Nead argues that “within the western tradition of high art ... one of the principal goals of the female nude has been the containment and regulation of the female sexual body.”<sup>29</sup> While both positions are certainly demonstrable, and lamentable, for the later Western art historical tradition, Nead fails to consider the specific context of the nude in antiquity, despite her stated aim of “historical study of the female nude.” Although she cites Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, she does not interpret the ancient Greek female nude within its historical context. As discussed in [Chapter 2](#), the categories of male and female are diametrically opposed in the ancient Greek mindset: the male body is the ideal, and the female body is a potential threat, so that an ideology of containment is in fact appropriate. This is not to say that such binary oppositions are applicable in modern society, and Nead is right to denounce them. But we must separate ancient Greek conceptions from our own, and respect the differences.<sup>30</sup>

### *Sociological Perspectives*

In order to reconstruct the lived experience of the unclothed body in ancient Greece, it is helpful to consider the modern perspectives of sociology and cultural studies. Early studies of nudity, influenced by anthropological fieldwork, conceived of nudity as a “primitive” step toward “civilized” clothedness.<sup>31</sup> Erving Goffman was among the first to consider the contextual meanings of nudity, or what he refers to as “the *orientational* implications of exposure.”<sup>32</sup> It may be appropriate to be unclothed in a gym locker room, for example, but not in a courtroom. Recent studies have emphasized the cultural specificity of undress and the difficulties of deciphering constructions of nakedness or nudity.<sup>33</sup>

The most comprehensive study of nudity to date is Ruth Barcan’s *Nudity: A Cultural Anatomy*. Barcan dispenses with Clark’s dichotomy between naked and nude, and instead focuses on the dialectic between the undressed body and clothing.<sup>34</sup> Whereas Nead criticized Clark’s uncritical adherence to the binary oppositions that are pervasive in Western thought, Barcan revalues and extends them to include the meanings associated with nakedness/clothing: natural/cultural; unchanging/changeable; invisible/visible; truth/lies; pure/corrupt; human nature/human society; pre-, non-, antisocial/social; beautiful/ugly.<sup>35</sup> Yet she emphasizes “the slipperiness of nakedness itself”<sup>36</sup> by problematizing such polarities:

There is no simple opposition between clothed and being naked. There is, rather, a whole complex matter of being sufficiently or appropriately

clothed that is context- and code-driven rather than being intrinsic to a piece of clothing. It is a dynamic or dialectic rather than a question of absolutes.<sup>37</sup>

Hence, Barcan builds upon Goffman's contextual approach to nudity and also demonstrates the relevance of Judith Butler's concept of performativity, as well as Foucault's "technologies of the body" and Mauss's "techniques of the body," outlined in [Chapter 2](#).<sup>38</sup>

Such an approach is helpful in our consideration of the undressed body in ancient Greece, reminding us that despite the ubiquity of the male nude in art, to appear without clothes was only acceptable in certain contexts. And what counted as dress, or undress, was not an absolute, but was prone to slip-page – just like garments themselves! The social construction of nudity (or nakedness), like other dress codes, would have been understood by everyone within the dress community. The challenge for the modern researcher is not only to reconstruct the codes governing nudity but to determine the dynamics of nudity within the living community.

#### MALE UNDRRESS

As discussed, males are represented without garments in Greek art from the earliest periods.<sup>39</sup> And we know from the written sources that the Greeks considered male nudity a uniquely Hellenic trait. This is not to say that Greek men walked the streets unclothed; rather, it was acceptable only in particular contexts. The most important of these, and the primary referent for other types of nudity, was athletic nudity.<sup>40</sup>

#### *Athletic Nudity*

As described in [Chapter 3](#) (pp. 57–60), athletics were performed primarily by the male elite, who exercised undressed in special complexes called *gymnasias* (literally: "naked places") and competed in athletic contests such as the Olympics.<sup>41</sup> The literary sources disagree as to when the practice of athletic nudity began and the circumstances that led to its adoption.<sup>42</sup> Several late sources tell different versions of what is certainly an apocryphal tale about an Olympic victor who lost his loincloth in the midst of a race, thereby inspiring others to compete in the nude.<sup>43</sup> Writing in the fifth century, Thucydides (1.6.5) attributes the invention of athletic nudity to the Lacedaemonians, from whom other Greeks competing at the Olympics adopted the practice. Likewise, Plato identifies the origin of athletic nudity with the Lacedaemonians, who in turn learned about the practice from the Cretans (*Republic* 5.452c).<sup>44</sup> Given the long history of the Olympic games, which were believed to have been

established in the eighth century BCE, as well as the tradition of representing male figures in the nude from the Geometric period onward, scholars have argued as to why both Plato and Thucydides identify athletic nudity as a relatively recent phenomenon.<sup>45</sup> While some have cited the series of black-figure vases depicting athletes wearing the *perizoma* (or *diazoma*) as evidence in support of the claims of Plato and Thucydides, it is now clear that these vases were intended to appeal to an Etruscan audience and therefore do not necessarily reflect Greek practices.<sup>46</sup> Bonfante associates athletic nudity of the Classical period, as described in the literary sources, with the earlier practice of ritual nudity, which had a long history in various regions of Greece, negating the need to identify an exact date for the adoption of athletic nudity. More recently, Christesen's analysis of the meaning of the term *gymnazo* suggests that athletics were not performed in the nude until the sixth century BCE.<sup>47</sup>

Precisely when, or where, athletic nudity was adopted is less important for our purposes than *why*. The classical sources are not specific on this point, except to say that the practice was adopted from the Lacedaemonians, who were considered masters of tradition. Plato further specifies that athletic nudity differentiated Greeks from barbarians, but this does not seem to be the impetus for the practice.<sup>48</sup> As discussed earlier, we must discount the tales of the Olympic victor losing his loincloth because of the late date of the sources. Likewise, Pausanias' story of the widow Callipateira (5.6.7–8), who dressed as a man in order to view her son's victory at Olympia, thus necessitating the law requiring that all participants strip before entering the arena, seems to be a later invention.

Given the silence of the ancient sources, scholars have proposed various explanations for athletic nudity, most of which are not mutually exclusive and may in fact overlap. Mouratidis suggested that "nudity in Greek athletics had its roots in prehistoric Greece and was connected with the warrior-athlete whose training and competition in the games was at the same time his preparation for war."<sup>49</sup> Others have searched for the origins of Greek athletics in funeral games or hunting rituals. Bonfante does not reject these theories but rightly points out that any explanation must account for both athletics and nudity.<sup>50</sup>

According to Bonfante, athletic nudity must have its origins in ritual. As described in [Chapter 2](#), Greek rites of passage, for both boys and girls, involved both nudity and athletics. A ritual explanation for athletic nudity fits well with the literary sources, which attribute the practice to the Lacedaemonians and the Cretans, both of whom were known to have employed nudity in ritual contexts.<sup>51</sup> Likewise, the visual evidence, namely, the nude *kouros* (e.g., [Figure 2.4](#)) and vases representing Greek athletes exercising in the nude ([Figure 3.1](#)), had ritual functions as dedications in sanctuaries and in the *symposion*.<sup>52</sup> While



Bonfante sees a break from ritual nudity in the Archaic period to what she calls civic nudity in the Classical period (see below), it has been argued that athletics, and therefore athletic nudity, simply became more democratic in the fifth century.<sup>53</sup> The ritual nature of athletics and the *symposion* did not disappear; rather, these social institutions became accessible to a broader range of the citizenry. Hence, the *kouros*, the symbol par excellence of aristocratic *kalo-skagathia*, gave way to more generic ideal athletes of the fifth and fourth centuries (e.g., 2.5, 3.3; see above p. 174); and images of athletes on *symposion* wares (e.g., Figures 3.1, 3.2), which were introduced at the end of the sixth century, increase throughout the Classical period.<sup>54</sup>

Athletic nudity may have had a leveling effect in the Classical period, but it had other functions as well. Several scholars have emphasized the apotropaic aspect of nudity in general.<sup>55</sup> While erect *phalloi* served as apotropaic devices in the form of herms and amulets, this seems to reflect a different tradition from that of athletic nudity:<sup>56</sup> athletes are never described, nor depicted, as sexually aroused.<sup>57</sup> Yet, display of the (non-erect) phallus would have created a sense of group identity among the athletes. In the words of David Halperin, “in classical Athens, it seems, the symbolic language of democracy proclaimed on behalf of each citizen: ‘I, too, have a phallus.’”<sup>58</sup> This type of phallic display obviously reflects the homosocial and homoerotic context of the *gymnasion* (discussed in Chapter 3, pp. 57–62). But it was not just the penis that was on display; it was the entire male body in its glory: physically fit, tanned, and oiled. The athletic nude body presented a masculine ideal to which all aspired. And this ideal body, with all its ideological connotations, translated into other, nonathletic, contexts, in Athenian civic life and art.

### *Civic Nudity*

Although the male nude is ubiquitous in Greek art as early as the Geometric period, the contexts in which men would appear without clothing were relatively few outside of the *gymnasion*. Bonfante employs the term *civic nudity* to refer to the practice of exercising in the nude described in the previous section.<sup>59</sup> But the usage is confusing: on the one hand, it does not identify *athletics* as the primary referent for this type of nudity; on the other hand, the term is so vague as to suggest that men might have regularly appeared on the streets of Athens without any clothes! (And given the prevalence of nude male figures in Greek art, one would be forgiven for thinking so.)<sup>60</sup> Here I understand *civic nudity* as any type of nonathletic male nudity.<sup>61</sup>

The primary context in which men might appear unclothed outside the *gymnasion* is the *symposion*. On the red-figure *kylix* by the Dokimasia Painter in Berlin (Figure 6.1), a group of male *komasts* dances to the accompaniment



6.1. Red-figure *kylix*, Dokimasia Painter, side A, ca. 490 BCE, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen F 2309, Berlin. ©bpk, Berlin/ Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Germany/ Johannes Laurentius/Art Resource, NY.

of male and female *aulos* players. The men are in various states of undress: some men wear *himatia* draped loosely around their shoulders revealing their torsos and genitalia, suggesting that their garments have become undone as a result of their revelries; others are completely nude.<sup>62</sup> In general, only older men, identifiable by their beards, baldness, and/or body hair, wear the draped *himation* (one also carries a walking stick), while the beardless youths (save one) lack garments or accessories.<sup>63</sup> This type of bodily display is acceptable, perhaps even expected, in the context of the *symposion*, in which the ritual consumption of wine was required for communion with the divine. Under the influence of the wine, the identity of the elite male is temporarily suspended; hence, the loosening, or total removal, of their garments. But the *symposion* is not an excuse for total abandon, as indicated by the infibulation of several figures: despite their obvious inebriation, these men retain an appropriate level of self-control.<sup>64</sup> Like the *gymnasion*, the *symposion* is a homoerotic environment in which older men admire the bodies of younger men, underscored here by the twisting pose of two older men who look back over their shoulders to gaze at the genitals of a youth.

The broader significance of nudity in the context of the *symposion*, for which this cup was made, parallels that of athletic nudity. Bonfante notes that both the *gymnasion* and the *symposion* were aristocratic institutions in which the “costume” of nudity was “fashionable,” and that male nudity in these contexts

differentiated upper-class citizens from (respectable) women.<sup>65</sup> But, as represented on the Dokimasia cup, the construction of identity by means of nudity is much more complex. As well articulated by Karen Bassi, nude male bodies are to be “*viewed theatrically*.”<sup>66</sup> Although the painter provides only a static “snapshot” of the scene, it is clear from the dynamic movements of the figures that the men perform a dance in which they also perform their elite masculinity.<sup>67</sup> Their poses and gestures emphasize various acts of body modification (care of the hair and beard; well-defined musculature; infibulation), just as the apparently casual (but elegant) disarray of the garments showcases the body beneath. The near total nudity of the youths underscores their status as sexual objects,<sup>68</sup> while the partial nudity of the older men emphasizes their capacity to cover up and resume their identities at will.<sup>69</sup> Certainly the nudity of all these figures creates a sense of social cohesion among the Greek, masculine elite, the *kaloikagathoi*. On the other hand, the erotic overtones of these images demonstrates the central importance of pederasty in the construction of masculine elite identity.<sup>70</sup>

### “Nakedness”

Although nudity reflected the youthful masculine ideal, some non-ideal male figures are depicted without clothing in the visual sources. As discussed in [Chapter 2](#), the personification of Old Age is undressed ([Figure 3.12](#)), though “real” old men are rarely depicted without garments (e.g., [Figure 3.15](#)). It is possible that the caricature is intended to imply that the bent over, shriveled old man attempts in vain to hold onto his youth. On the other hand, his lack of clothing serves to emphasize his non-ideal genitals, creating humor, if not pathos, in the scene.<sup>71</sup> In this case, we might consider the figure “naked,” according to Clark’s formulation, as opposed to nude. He does not display ideal masculine nudity; rather his “nakedness” underscores his non-ideal character.

Also depicted “naked” are workers, whose non-ideal status is emphasized by their poses and gestures (e.g., [Figure 2.7](#)), as well as the presence of certain accessories such as headgear.<sup>72</sup> On the *kylix* by the Foundry Painter in Berlin, they are differentiated from the higher-status men (depicted in larger scale and variously identified as the shopowners or patrons) who wear artfully arranged *himatia* and lean on their walking sticks.<sup>73</sup>

While it may be surprising that non-ideal male figures such as aged figures and workers are depicted without clothes, they would never be confused with the ideal masculine nude. Rather, they can be identified as “naked,” a non-ideal form of undress. Interestingly, other non-ideal figures, specifically barbarians, are never depicted “naked” (or nude, for that matter). The implication seems to be that the non-ideal “naked” Greek male shares something with his ideal nude counterpart: “Old Age” was young once, and even a lowly Greek worker

may achieve higher status by means of social mobility. (This might in fact be implied on the Foundry Painter *kylix* by the presence of some workers wearing short garments tied around their waists, a variation of the elegant draped *himatia* worn by the elites.) The same is true for images of undressed baby boys (e.g., [Figures 2.2, 2.3, 4.23](#)): they will eventually grow up to display ideal masculine nudity. Whereas barbarians are often identified with permanent body modifications such as tattooing and circumcision, undress is a transient (“slippery,” according to Barcan) condition. The ability to cover up with garments provides the Greek male of any status the ability to construct his identity at will, according to the conventions of Greek dress.

#### FEMALE UNDRRESS

The ambiguities of nudity, nakedness, and dress are even more complex for women. As described in [Chapter 2](#), women’s bodies are problematic within the Greek mindset: they are understood in opposition and inferior to males in every way, yet necessary for social (re)production. Constructions of feminine undress are likewise complicated. Whereas the nude body was a masculine ideal, women were especially identified with their clothing, which served ideologically to contain the dangerous *miasma* emitted from their bodies. On the other hand, women’s bodies were valued for their potential fertility and were viewed as sexually desirable.<sup>74</sup> On one level, all representations of women without clothing could be viewed as “naked” as opposed to nude, since they are understood as antithetical to the masculine ideal. On the other hand, since women’s bodies were celebrated in two specific ways, in terms of their sexuality and their fertility, some images may have been viewed more positively, and therefore nude as opposed to “naked.”<sup>75</sup> Of course, the most famous, and infamous, image of an undressed female was Praxiteles’ Knidian Aphrodite, which has served as a catalyst for most modern discussions of feminine “nakedness” and nudity in antiquity.<sup>76</sup> This section begins with the evidence for feminine undress among *hetairai*, *nymphai*, and *parthenoi*, and concludes with a reconsideration of the special case of the Aphrodite of Knidos. It will be seen that for images of women, at least, arguments surrounding the terms *naked* and *nude* are a red herring. Rather, we must reformulate the discourse to consider varying degrees of undress in particular contexts.

#### *Hetairai*

In the Archaic period, undressed females appear primarily on vases used in the symposion, especially cups but also serving vessels such as *amphorae*.<sup>77</sup> These figures are generally identified as *hetairai*, who, like the cups they adorn, “functioned as so much sympotic furniture.”<sup>78</sup> As discussed in [Chapter 2](#), sex

workers are seemingly easy to identify when they are represented engaged in sexual intercourse with their customers (e.g., [Figure 3.10](#)), though it may be difficult in some cases to distinguish between high-class courtesans and lower-class prostitutes. Undressed women reclining on *klinai* (dining couches) alongside men are likewise generally understood as courtesans. In a few exceptional scenes, undressed or partially dressed women are represented without accompanying men. For example, on the shoulder of the red-figure *hydria* by Phintias in Munich ([Figure 3.11b](#)), two women recline on striped cushions, their *himatia* having fallen down to create a “topless” effect. Their undress, together with the poses and gestures of the figures (holding their wine cups poised to fling the dregs at a target in the game called *kottabos*), identifies them as participants in a symposion and therefore *hetairai*.

If the undressed women on symposion vessels are indeed *hetairai*, it should not surprise us that they are represented without garments: as sex workers, they are valued primarily for their bodies as a source of pleasure for their clients in the symposion. But the meaning of their undress is not purely functional. On the one hand, as “working” women, their lack of garments emphasizes their lower class (see [Chapter 2](#), pp. 48–49) and distinguishes them from elite women, whose bodies are properly covered from neck to feet (though there are exceptions, described later in the chapter). On the other hand, their undress equates them on some level with male symposiasts, whose nudity is celebrated as an extension of the athletic ideal. The similarity, if not parity, of male and female undress in symposion scenes is illustrated by many scenes of *hetairai* reclining on the same level with their male counterparts, in the same state of undress. If this is appropriate attire for *hetairai*, perhaps it should be viewed in the same positive light as masculine nudity.

Images of undressed *hetairai* on symposion vessels are at odds with some textual evidence that describes courtesans as elaborately dressed in fine garments and gold jewelry, in contrast to *pornai* who “stand in nakedness, lest you be deceived; take a look at everything” (Philemon fr. 3 = Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, 569e).<sup>79</sup> And, indeed, some vase paintings of fully draped women have been identified by some as *hetairai* on the basis of other indicators such as money bags, for example.<sup>80</sup> On the other hand, some vessels depicting undressed women performing activities usually associated with proper women, such as worshipping at an altar, complicate the equation of nudity/nakedness with *hetairai*.<sup>81</sup> Some have argued that undressed women on sympotic vessels must be *hetairai* because of the context in which they were represented and viewed: certainly images of ideal women would not be appropriate decoration for drinking cups, just as no proper female would be welcome at the symposion itself. The issue is complicated by the fact that, as described in [Chapter 2](#), many of the dress behaviors employed by *hetairai*, such as bathing ([Figure 3.4](#)), hairdressing ([Figure 3.7](#)), and depilation ([Figures 3.13](#) and [3.14](#)), are shared by

proper women. But proper women do appear undressed on vases that can be more securely identified with them, namely, wedding vessels.

### *Nymphai*

By the middle of the fifth century BCE, there is a distinct shift in the production of Greek vases.<sup>82</sup> Symposion vessels decrease in popularity, and images of undressed women that can be securely identified as *hetairai* disappear. New shapes marketed toward women, especially *lebetes gamikoi* and *loutrophoroi*, which held the water for the nuptial bath, and *pyxides*, which contained jewelry and cosmetics, are decorated with wedding imagery, including the bridal bath.<sup>83</sup> Whereas the undressed female bathers described in Chapter 3 are often difficult to identify as either *hetairai* or proper women, there is little question in the more elaborate wedding scenes that the bather is a bride. A good example is the exterior of an unattributed red-figure *pyxis* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 7.7) depicting various stages in the preparation of the bride for her wedding day, beginning with the bath, which is administered by Eros. The bather crouches with one knee on the ground, in a pose familiar from later sculpture as the “Crouching Aphrodite.”<sup>84</sup> Like the famous statue, her arms are raised to wash her hair, and her upper body is turned toward the viewer, displaying her breasts. While this image is not as explicitly erotic as many of the images of *hetairai* on the symposion wares, the nudity and pose of the figure underscore her sexuality and the desirability of her body, soon to be covered and bound in layers of bridal garments and sashes.<sup>85</sup> Why such an image should appear on a vessel intended for a female audience is an interesting question.<sup>86</sup> On the one hand, the scene depicts in a matter-of-fact fashion the various stages of bridal preparations and may be viewed as a sort of generic record of this most important event in the female life cycle: the transition from *parthenos* to married woman. On the other hand, the owner of such a vessel surely identified with the undressed bather on some level; certainly the imagery served as a model for the bride-to-be. While a homoerotic response is theoretically possible, it was not likely intended by the artist, whose decoration was supposed to celebrate heterosexual marriage.<sup>87</sup>

A more complex case is the representation of an undressed woman on a *lekythos*, a shape generally intended for funerary purposes. An exceptional red-figure example in the J. Paul Getty Museum in the Manner of the Phiale Painter (Figure 6.2) depicts a woman standing frontally, her white skin emphasized with added white pigment.<sup>88</sup> While her pose might suggest that of a *hetaira*, she turns her head and lowers her gaze like a proper woman. Like several of the women performing various acts of bodily modification described in Chapter 3 (e.g., Figures 3.13 and 3.14 [depilation], 3.4 [bathing], 3.7 [combing hair]), this



woman is carefully coiffed and wears an earring. She holds a mirror, a sign of her beauty.<sup>89</sup> What may identify this woman as a proper female and not a *hetaira* is the presence of the *kalathos* (wool basket) and wooden chest at her feet, indicating her status as an ideal wool worker and elite owner of luxury objects.<sup>90</sup> The purpose of such an image on a funerary vessel is less clear. Perhaps the figure represents in a generic way an ideal woman who had died in her prime.

### *Parthenoi*

Unmarried girls are depicted undressed on the special vases created for the Arkteia, a series of coming-of-age rituals that took place at the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, outside of Athens.<sup>91</sup>

The imagery on the miniature *krateriskoi* (e.g., Figure 2.6) represents participants in the ritual, girls from the ages of five to ten, the younger ones wearing special garments, the older ones completely undressed.<sup>92</sup> While the details of the ritual

are not known, it is interesting that the older girls are the ones represented without garments. On the one hand, one might expect that a girl on the cusp of menarche and therefore marriage would be covered like the adult woman she was about to become. On the other hand, the display of her body allowed visual inspection of signs of puberty such as the budding breasts confirmed by Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood in her study of the iconography of the vases. Certainly the girls' un-dress represents an inversion of social conventions, often a feature of coming-of-age rituals. At the same time, display of the pre-pubescent bodies would have served to educate the younger girls about forthcoming changes in their own bodies.

Various types of figurines representing adult female bodies likely also educated girls about physical maturation. Terra cotta figurines generally interpreted as dolls (e.g., Figures 6.3, 7.9) have been recovered from sanctuaries, where they were dedicated as votives, and from graves, where they were deposited as gifts for the deceased.<sup>93</sup> Funerary reliefs of young girls holding figurines



6.2. Red-figure *lekythos*, Manner of the Phiale Painter, ca. 450 BCE, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, 86.AE.250, Malibu, California.



6.3. Terra cotta jointed doll, late fourth century BCE, Museum of Fine Arts 18.460, Boston. Photograph ©2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

of adult females confirm their use.<sup>94</sup> Some figurines may be interpreted as dolls, not unlike modern “Barbie” dolls, that could be provided with garments and accessories (though they are always undressed in the pictorial representations). A few examples with articulated arms and legs, perhaps representing acrobats or dancers, likewise may have been dressed as a part of play. A series of figurines with truncated arms and legs, previously thought to be dolls, have been convincingly reinterpreted by Joan Reilly as anatomical votives emphasizing feminine reproduction.<sup>95</sup> Whether intended as playthings or as votive dedications, adult female figurines would have served a didactic function for the girls for whom they were intended.<sup>96</sup>

### *The Aphrodite of Knidos*

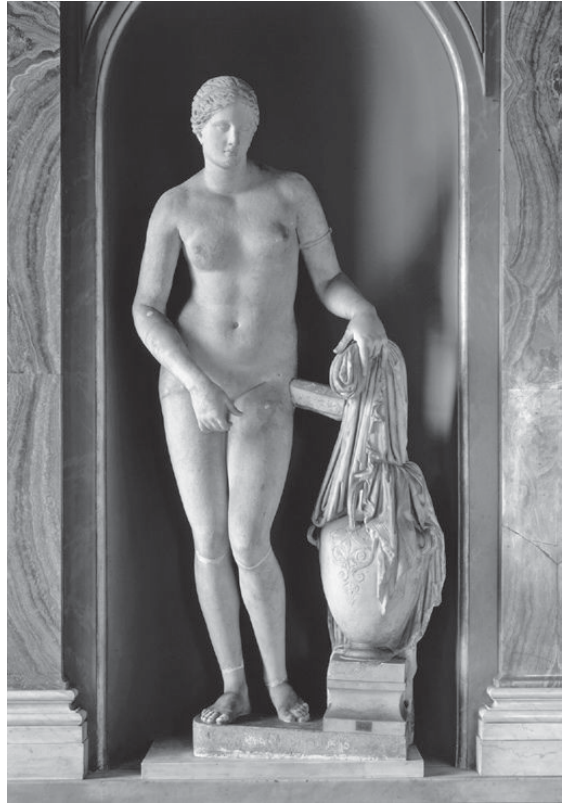
Most discussions of feminine nudity in ancient Greece cite the Aphrodite of Knidos (Figure 6.4) as the earliest example of a monumental sculpture of an undressed female. The Knidian Aphrodite was arguably the most famous statue in antiquity, and although the original marble statue by Praxiteles, conventionally dated ca. 350 BCE, does not survive, it is well documented in dozens of large- and small-scale copies, on coinage and in multiple literary sources. Unfortunately, nearly all the visual and literary testimonia postdate Praxiteles’ work by several centuries. Despite the difficulties surrounding the sources, many have speculated as to the significance of the statue and its nudity in antiquity. Considering the far-reach-

ing influence of the statue on later Western art, it is understandable that this monument would be central in modern discussions of ancient nudity. Given the nature of the evidence, however, it is important to remove this statue from its pedestal, so to speak, and restore it as well as we can to its original context, in order to reconstruct its particular meanings in the Late Classical period.

The appearance of the original statue can be surmised from the many copies that survive in marble, bronze, and terra cotta, and from coins.<sup>97</sup> Although these differ from one another in multiple ways, they are consistent in depicting the goddess completely undraped (in contrast, for example, to the well-known late Hellenistic Aphrodite of Melos in the Louvre, in which the goddess is draped from the hips down).<sup>98</sup> Some copies represent her wearing jewelry, especially a bracelet on her upper left arm; all depict her hair neatly arranged with a central part and chignon, with a fillet encircling her head.<sup>99</sup> The pose of the figure varies slightly in the different examples, but the general scheme

is consistent: the goddess stands in contrapposto, with her right hand covering her pubic area (the so-called *pudica* or “modesty” gesture), and her left hand grasping a voluminous piece of cloth.<sup>100</sup> The cloth is presumably her garment, though it is unclear in most cases whether she is in the process of removing it or putting it on. Most identify the type as Aphrodite at her bath, alluded to by the presence of a *hydria* (though not in all examples, and therefore not positively included in the original composition).<sup>101</sup>

The Aphrodite of Knidos was renowned in antiquity because of her nudity. Although the literary sources all date to the Roman period, it is clear that the fame of the statue rested the nudity of the figure, and that its lack of clothing required some explanation. Pliny the Elder (first century CE) claims that the statue’s nudity was the invention of Praxiteles himself:



6.4. Aphrodite of Knidos, Colonna type, Roman copy of Greek original by Praxiteles, ca. 350–330 BCE, Museo Pio Clementino, Vatican 812, Rome. ©Nimatallah/Art Resource, NY.

Superior to all the works, not only of Praxiteles, but indeed in the whole world, is the Aphrodite which many people have sailed to Knidos in order to see. He made two statues and offered them for sale at the same time; one of them was represented with the body draped, for which reason the people of Kos, whose choice it was (since he put the same price on both), preferred it, judging that this was the sober and proper thing to do. The people of Knidos bought the rejected one, the fame of which became immensely greater. (Pliny, *Natural History* 36.20)<sup>102</sup>

Why Praxiteles chose to depict the goddess without her garments at all is explained by Athenaeus (ca. 200 CE):

In the festival of the Eleusinians and in the festival of Poseidon [the famous courtesan Phryne] took off her robes in view of all the Greeks, unbound her hair and went into the sea.... And Praxiteles the sculptor, falling in love with her, made his Knidian Aphrodite with her as the model. (Athenaeus 13.590)<sup>103</sup>

That the nudity of the statue was considered extraordinary is suggested by this Greek epigram attributed to Plato Junior (possibly first century BCE):

Paphian Cythera [Aphrodite] came through the sea to Knidos  
 Wishing to see her own image.  
 Having gazed from every angle in that conspicuous space  
 She cried: "Where did Praxiteles see me naked?"<sup>104</sup>

Although the literary sources are all late (and, indeed, largely fictitious), it seems that the general sentiment regarding the nudity of the statue bordered on scandalous (and might therefore be identified as "naked" instead of nude).<sup>105</sup> Since no other large-scale female nudes have been recovered that date prior to Praxiteles' original, scholars have taken the literary sources at face value and assumed that the fourth-century viewers of the statue were likewise shocked by the image (as suggested in the passage by Pliny). But, in fact, no contemporary records survive of the response of the statue's Late Classical audience. And given that the Knidian Aphrodite was a cult statue hidden inside a temple within a sacred sanctuary, it could be argued that relatively few people actually saw it before it became a tourist attraction in the late Hellenistic or early Roman period.<sup>106</sup>

How, then, might the statue have been received by its original (fourth-century, Knidian) viewers? What meanings might have been intended by Praxiteles, in creating an undressed Aphrodite? Was the figure understood as "naked" or nude? The Aphrodite of Knidos is linked thematically to images of female bathers in Archaic and Classical Athenian vase painting, on both sympotic wares (most likely *hetairai*) and "women's pots" (brides). These images are not likely to have informed Praxiteles' work or his audience's reception, as they are removed in time and place from fourth-century Knidos, and they are quite different in conception. Nor do the small-scale figurines representing adult females seem to have inspired the Knidian Aphrodite directly, though the emphasis on the sexual and reproductive capacities of the adult female body is shared by both. Some have looked outside the Greek artistic sphere for precedents for Aphrodite's nudity, and indeed her Near Eastern counterpart, Astarte, is frequently depicted nude.<sup>107</sup> Perhaps the proximity of Knidos to the East influenced Praxiteles' decision to depict the Greek goddess undressed. And maybe exposure to the Eastern artistic tradition made this an unsurprising choice to the Knidians, especially as Aphrodite is the goddess of love.<sup>108</sup> On the other hand, Greek mythology recounts the dangers of viewing a goddess naked (the myth of Artemis and Actaeon being perhaps the most extreme example). In representing Aphrodite without her clothes, Praxiteles created a uniquely "charged" image, which might have been especially effective as a cult statue.

While most commentators, ancient and modern, have focused on the nudity of the figure, and her *pudica* gesture, it is noteworthy that she is represented holding her garment. Although some have dismissed this as a formal device linking the figure to the *hydria*,<sup>109</sup> or a functional support for the arm, it should be considered a meaningful part of the composition. As mentioned, it is unclear in most copies whether the goddess is lifting the garment or putting it down, perhaps a deliberate ambiguity on the part of the sculptor. Either way, the garment implies a type of *performance*; indeed, a kind of striptease.<sup>110</sup> The goddess deliberately manipulates her garment, whether to reveal or conceal. She controls the visual, and presumably sexual, access of the spectator to her body.

The ancient literary sources seem to suggest otherwise. Most vivid is Pliny's account of a man who was so overcome with lust for the statue, that he hid himself in the temple overnight and "embraced" her, leaving a stain (*Natural History* 36.20). Lucian's description includes satirical descriptions of the hetero- and homosexual male responses to the statue (Lucian, *Amores*, 13–14). These male authors describe male responses to the statue as if they were the active partners, or at least voyeuristic "Peeping Toms." But it seems that the power of the statue embodied the power of the goddess, against which men are defenseless. Were the statue represented without the garment, she would be the one without defenses.<sup>111</sup>

Citing the (male-authored) literary references describing men's erotic responses to the statue, Robin Osborne has concluded that the statue was intended to titillate a male audience and therefore had nothing to say to women.<sup>112</sup> I would argue just the opposite: that this exceptional image of the undressed female body would have been understood by female viewers in terms of their own sexuality. Of course, whether women actually saw the statue must remain speculative. But if we are to believe the testimony of Lucian, it was a woman who was entrusted with the keys to Aphrodite's temple (*Amores*, 14). Presumably she would have seen the statue, as would priestesses and other women visiting the sanctuary in service of the goddess. Such women could only have been impressed by the appearance of a cult statue, fashioned from marble by a famous sculptor, who looked like an idealized version of themselves. As with the bathing brides on Attic pots, a homoerotic response is possible. On the other hand, Aphrodite herself was decidedly heterosexual in her various erotic associations; presumably this would have informed the understanding of female viewers of the statue. What is more, throughout Greek mythology the goddess Aphrodite is in control of her own sexuality: she does not simply limit access to her body like the virgin goddesses Artemis and Athena; she actively engages in various love affairs, in a way that would have been unthinkable for actual Greek women.<sup>113</sup> On the other hand, her sexual power is here safely contained in the sanctuary, in the temple, and in her image.

Again, the presumed response of a female viewer must remain speculative, but it is quite conceivable that the women of fourth-century Knidos understood the image as a model worthy of emulation.<sup>114</sup> Like the Athenian wedding vases, the female body is put on display as a desirable sexual object. A female viewer may have been empowered by this image to exercise her own sexuality. But just as Aphrodite's erotic body is contained within the temple, it was understood that women's sexuality must be kept within the confines of marriage.

#### PARTIAL UNDRRESS

Most discussions of ancient nudity rely on images of bodies that are, in fact, only partly undressed.<sup>115</sup> As argued for the Aphrodite of Knidos, the power of the statue lies not only in her nudity or her *pudica* gesture, but also in the garment she holds in her hand; the implied transition from dress to undress (or undress to dress) contributes to the erotic charge of the image. The partially undressed body is likewise charged, since it is presented in between the absolute states of nudity (or nakedness) and dress. In addition, a partially dressed figure implies some sort of narrative: how did the body become undressed? Because women were generally covered from neck to feet, partial un-dress is especially significant for female figures, in contrast to males whose garments generally left more of the body uncovered and who appeared nude in certain public contexts. In general, partially dressed figures in Greek art and literature fall into three categories: those who are divested of their garments as a result of violence visited upon them by others; those whose garments "accidentally" slip away to expose the body; and those who deliberately display their own bodies as a kind of performance.

#### *Divestment as the Result of Violence*

Perhaps not unsurprisingly, figures violently bereft of their garments are typically female victims of rape. As shown by Beth Cohen, the artistic convention of depicting a mythological rape victim with her garment violently unfastened by her attacker first appears in a monumental sculpture of the early Classical period, and is later emulated by vase painters.<sup>116</sup> In the centauremachy in the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, ca. 460 BCE, Lapith women and girls struggle against the drunken centaurs, who rip open their victims' *peplos* to reveal their breasts (Figure 6.5). The same theme is repeated in the frieze from the temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassae, ca. 420–400 BCE (Figure 6.6). But in this case, the implication of sexual violence is underscored by the fact that the centaur has managed to uncover most of the victim's body, including her pubic region, despite her attempt to secure sanctuary by grasping a statue of Athena. Her companion, arms outstretched in a gesture of distress, will





6.5. Centauromachy, figures R, S, T (Lapith girl, centaur, youth), west pediment, temple of Zeus at Olympia, ca. 460 BCE, Olympia Museum. ©Vanni Archive/Art Resource, NY.



6.6. Centauromachy, detail of frieze, temple of Apollo Epikourios, Bassae, ca. 420–400 BCE, British Museum 524, London. ©Trustees of the British Museum.

seemingly escape with only one breast revealed. Divestment of the women's reproductive organs underscores the sexual nature of their violation, while the violence of the act is emphasized by the fact the garments are "in transit." But most important, in scenes of rape women are not in control of their own garments, just as they are not in control of their bodies or their sexuality.<sup>117</sup>

Interestingly, a sort of parallel divestment motif seems to have been invented for the men in the Olympia centauromachy. As traced by Brian Shefton, the "*himation* motive" is displayed by several Lapith youths whose draped garments fall to the ground as they leap up to defend their women.<sup>118</sup> But whereas the

Lapith women's garments are rent as a consequence of the Centaurs' violence, in Shefton's words, "the heroes cast off their clothing as they stride into action."<sup>119</sup> The men are not victims but are divested of their garments accidentally, as a result of their spontaneous movements.

### *Accidental Bodily Display*

Display of the body sometimes happens by accident, or at least not through the deliberate actions of the wearer or anyone else. Cohen has identified the so-called slipped *chiton* motif as a development in sculpture of the later fifth century BCE.<sup>120</sup> Figures whose breasts are accidentally exposed are generally not proper Greek women, but maenads or nymphs, or other mythological figures in action such as Nikai, Aurae, or Nereids. It is perhaps not surprising that pre-Knidian statues of Aphrodite display her breasts in this way, but so does the image of Artemis on the Parthenon and that of Athena on the balustrade of the temple of Athena Nike on the Athenian Acropolis.<sup>121</sup>

Much has been made of the child in the "peplos scene" on the east (ionic) frieze of the Parthenon, whose buttocks are visible from beneath an open garment. Both the sex of the child and the type of garment have been hotly debated. It is now generally accepted that the child is a boy, and the garment a *himation*.<sup>122</sup> The Early Classical grave stele in the Metropolitan Museum representing a girl wearing an ungirt *peplos* (Figure 4.8) likewise displays the buttocks. As discussed in Chapter 4, it is not uncommon for young girls' bodies to be revealed in this way, perhaps as a reflection of their untamed nature.<sup>123</sup>

In vase painting, the bodies of barbarians, who are by definition outside the parameters of proper Greek society, are shown beneath garments that are in disarray. The tattooed Thracian woman on the red-figure column-krater in Munich by the Pan Painter (Figure 3.16) unwittingly displays her breasts and legs as a result of her dynamic movements. Likewise, the garments of the priests of Bousiris on the red-figure *pelike* in Athens (Figure 3.18), also by the Pan Painter, are arranged to reveal their circumcised penises.<sup>124</sup> On the one hand, this motif might be viewed as "accidental," the result of their actions; on the other hand, the garments of the two figures on the right seem to be tucked up into a sash or belt, as if to frame their genitals in a type of deliberate display.

### *Deliberate Bodily Display*

It is difficult in some cases to ascertain whether bodily display is accidental or intentional by the wearer. For example, in the main panel of the red-figure *hydria* by Phintias in Munich (Figure 3.11a), the *himation* worn by the bearded

man seated on the right is not thrown over his shoulder, as it is conventionally worn, but draped over his lap. Is this arrangement merely a consequence of his seated pose (compare the seated older man in [Figure 3.15](#)), or has he deliberately removed the garment from his shoulder in order to display his torso? Given his apparent erotic interest in the youths facing him, one could argue the latter.<sup>125</sup> In comparison, the *himation* of the standing figure on the left appears as if, with the slightest movement of his walking stick, the garment would fall open completely, revealing his entire body. The fact that it has not suggests that he deliberately controls the display of his body by manipulating his garment.<sup>126</sup>

Some figures display their bodies for practical reasons, as a result of their activities. For example, the bronze workers depicted on the red-figure *kylix* in Berlin by the Foundry Painter ([Figure 2.7](#)) wear few (or no) garments so that they may perform their labors unencumbered.<sup>127</sup> Likewise, the short *exomis* allowed the maiden runners in the Heraia (e.g., [Figure 7.1](#)) to compete without fear of tripping.<sup>128</sup> (On the other hand, the fact that the *exomis* covered only one shoulder, revealing the opposite breast, suggests that its design was not purely practical.)<sup>129</sup> Although nursing women are extremely rare in Greek art before the Hellenistic period, we should imagine that they would have loosened their garments in order to breastfeed, exposing their breasts.<sup>130</sup> In none of these cases does bodily display seem to have been the primary motive, though it may have been a secondary consequence.

In other situations, bodily display was arguably more deliberate. Certainly, on a functional level, men and women had to undress in order to perform various acts of body modification (see [Chapter 3](#)). But the ways in which they are represented on Greek vases indicates that such activities had an erotic effect, and display of the body in the performance of body modifications may have been intentional. The presence of Eros in the depilation scene in [Figure 3.14](#) makes this an obvious example. Compared to the rather discreet activity of the seated woman on the left, the standing, three-quarter pose of the figure on the right emphasizes bodily display, made even more dynamic by the figure's manipulation of her own garment as if to frame her naked torso, and especially her genitals and breasts. Likewise, the frontal pose of the woman performing her own depilation in [Figure 3.13](#) is blatantly erotic, especially on a symposium vase. It could be argued in both these cases that the artist has employed the generally mundane act of depilation as a device to show the female body undressed. The same may be true for images of female bathers (e.g., [Figure 3.4](#)), whose undressed state is emphasized by the bundled garments they hold.<sup>131</sup>

The homosocial and homoerotic contexts of the *gymnasion* are well established.<sup>132</sup> As discussed earlier, it was conventional for athletes to undress prior

to exercise. But it is clear from representations on vases that the *gymnasion* provided multiple opportunities for deliberate bodily display. The youths in [Figure 3.1](#) are represented in various states. The figures on the far right of both the obverse and the reverse are shown in the act of removing and folding their *himatia*, in order to hand them to boy attendants. It is unusual for adult men to be depicted handling their garments in this way and underscores the status of the youths as *eromenoi*.<sup>133</sup> On the other hand, the fact that they manipulate their own garments suggests that they retain some degree of agency. Note that the central figure on side A has completely removed his garment, which is heaped on a stool, a visual reminder of its deliberate removal. The bathers and scrapers in [Figure 3.2](#) are depicted completely nude; their poses and gestures emphasize their well-defined musculature and (much-desired) petite genitals.<sup>134</sup> The groupings of two and three figures suggest that they display their bodies for one another (even the crouching bather shows his genitals). But, as with the female bathers above, this arrangement provides a convenient opportunity for the artist to depict the male body from multiple angles for the benefit of a presumed male viewer.

As with images of body modification, it could be argued that dressing scenes (sometimes indistinguishable from scenes of undressing) served as a foil allowing the artist to depict the female body.<sup>135</sup> For example, although [Figure 4.4](#) is often cited as a rare illustration of the *strophion*, it is perhaps more remarkable for the transitional state of the woman's (Aphrodite's?) dress.<sup>136</sup> The artist has chosen to depict an early stage in the process of putting on (or a late stage in taking off?) the garment, presumably a *chiton*, so that most of her body remains visible.<sup>137</sup> Interestingly, she pulls the garment over her head with a gesture familiar from wedding vases, the so-called bridal or veil gesture.<sup>138</sup> Early Classical scenes of dressing and undressing do not generally reveal the female body in such a blatant fashion, but hint at the body underneath transparent garments.<sup>139</sup>

Whereas scenes of dressing and undressing may be understood as fortuitous displays of the body, unambiguous cases of deliberate bodily display can be identified in both the visual and the literary sources. As early as Homer, heroic women bare their breasts in scenes of supplication, while in Classical tragedy the anti-heroine Clytemnestra exposes her breast to her son Orestes, pleading in vain that he spare her life.<sup>140</sup> This gesture is unmatched in the visual sources, save on a fourth-century Italian *amphora* depicting Clytemnestra before Orestes in the J. Paul Getty Museum.<sup>141</sup> In general, females do not deliberately display their breasts or genitalia.<sup>142</sup> Conversely, youthful men are shown in vase painting casting their garments aside to display their bodies, especially in homosexual courtship scenes.<sup>143</sup> On a red-figure *kylix* attributed to Makron in Munich ([Figure 6.7](#)), men



6.7. Red-figure kylix, Makron, ca. 500–450 BCE, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2655, Munich. ©Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München; photograph by Renate Kühling.

and youths with gifts court younger boys, who indicate their receptiveness by the degree of display of their bodies beneath their *himatia*.<sup>144</sup> On the far right, an older bearded man offers a sprig, but the boy remains completely enveloped in his mantle, an apparent rejection. In the center, a beardless youth brings his beloved a hare, which the boy's open gesture seems to indicate he will accept; his *himation* is arranged in the conventional manner, revealing the right arm and torso. Another beardless youth on the far left offers a cock, to which the boy facing him responds by grasping the edge of his garment to reveal his naked body; the implied erotic connection between them is emphasized by the gaze of the youth, toward the boy's genitals. The erotic overtones of the scene are emphasized by the transparency of the garments worn by both the *erastes* and *eromenoi*, revealing the forms of the body underneath the cloth.<sup>145</sup>

### Diaphanous or Transparent Garments

Transparency in Greek dress is generally under-studied and under-theorized.<sup>146</sup> Much of the scholarship on diaphanous or transparent garments stems from formal analysis of sculptural style. As many have noted, early Archaic *korai* wear thick, heavy garments that obscure the form of the body underneath.<sup>147</sup> Over the course of the sixth century, sculptors become more adept at delineating the female anatomy beneath garments, especially the *chiton*, as for example in [Figure 4.14](#). With the widespread adoption of the *peplos* in sculpture of the early Classical period, the form of the female body





6.8. Nike untying her sandal, balustrade of the temple of Athena Nike, ca. 410 BCE, Acropolis Museum 973, Athens. ©Marie Mauzy/Art Resource, NY.

again disappears beneath thick folds (e.g., the “doughy” drapery of the Olympia pediments, seen in [Figures 4.6 and 6.5](#)). Following a few extraordinary experiments in the early fifth century, as for example on the Motya charioteer ([Figure 4.16](#)), a new style of drapery, which clings to the body as if it were wet, is used (and perhaps invented) for the high Classical Parthenon and temple of Athena Nike ([Figure 6.8](#));<sup>148</sup> a softer variation of this type of drapery continues to be used throughout the Late Classical period. Truly transparent garments appear in Hellenistic sculpture, especially portrait statues from the island of Cos, the supposed source of silk.<sup>149</sup> Whether such developments should be considered merely benchmarks in sculptural technique, or an accurate reflection of changing dress styles, is debatable.

Some (mostly later) literary sources suggest that transparent garments were indicators for *hetairai*.<sup>150</sup> And indeed, many of the vase paintings depicting women who are otherwise identifiable as *hetairai* show them in diaphanous dress (e.g., [Figures 4.12, 4.25](#); [Figure 5.6](#) [dancers], [5.19](#)). On the other hand, transparent garments are also worn by proper women (e.g., [Figure 4.18](#)), espe-

cially brides (e.g., [Figures 3.8, 4.7, 4.13, 5.7, 5.14, 7.7](#)), and also by men (e.g., [Figures 3.11a, 6.7](#)).<sup>151</sup> An extraordinary portrait on a red-figure *psykter* attributed to Smikros in the Getty Museum ([Figure 6.9](#)) shows the painter Euphronios in a fully transparent garment that reveals his genitals as he reaches out to touch the youth Leagros, who likewise wears a diaphanous *himation* (but whose genitals are hidden). The erotic contexts of these images suggest that diaphanous garments were not worn exclusively by *hetairai* but should be read more generally as a kind of parallel to complete bodily display by means of undress.<sup>152</sup> Indeed, the interplay between the body and diaphanous dress could be more erotic than nudity itself.<sup>153</sup>

By situating our reading of undress in specific social contexts, the dichotomy of nakedness versus nudity proves false. Undress was not reserved for ideal or heroic figures; rather, it was situational. Certainly the significance of undress was different for men and women, those of high or low status, human





6.9. Red-figure *psykter*, Smikros, ca. 510 BCE, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, 82.AE.53, Malibu, California.

or divine. But the meanings of undress were not static: they were constantly (re)created by circumstances and by the manipulation of garments by the wearer. While we might never know the specific meanings attached to undress in particular contexts, it is clear that display of the body, whether deliberate or not, generally had erotic connotations. The erotics of undress, wholly or in part, must be central to the discourse on nudity in ancient Greece.

## SOCIAL CONTEXTS OF DRESS

From birth until death, individuals are identified by their dress. In every aspect of daily life, dress is essential to social action and interaction. Because dress plays a central role in socialization, individuals are not always conscious of the functions and meanings of dress. Nevertheless, dress is ascribed special significance in certain social contexts, especially important transitional events such as coming-of-age rituals, marriage, childbirth, and death.

As argued in [Chapter 1](#), “disembodied” garments outside of any social context are devoid of meaning. While the preceding chapters traced what we know about the body, modifications to the body, garments, and accessories, this chapter analyzes the social meanings ascribed to the dressed individual in specific contexts. Because the meanings of dress were learned by means of socialization, I trace the functions of dress from the earliest stages of life, through the maturation rituals performed by boys and by girls, to adult roles in the military, marriage, pregnancy, and childbirth. Dress had particular significance in religion and ritual, not only in terms of prescriptions and proscriptions of dress for ritual participants, but also as cultic objects and dress practices; the Panathenaia provides an excellent case study of the various functions of dress in Greek religion. Finally, the significance of dress in death and mourning provides important insights into functions of dress for the construction of identities – of the deceased as well as the bereaved.

## EARLY LIFE STAGES

As noted by Mark Golden, “being born, a biological event, was insufficient to make a child a member of an *oikos*.”<sup>1</sup> Indeed, it was by means of dress that newborn infants were incorporated into the social context of the ancient Greek household. Immediately following birth, the baby received its first bath, perhaps with water from a special source.<sup>2</sup> The *spargana* (Figure 4.3) in which the newborn was swaddled certainly served a practical function, to provide warmth and protection for the newborn infant, but they also symbolized in a profound way the beginnings of the socialization of the child. The baby was literally enveloped by this most basic product of culture: cloth. In early Greece, most cloth was produced within the household; hence, swaddling cloths reflect the role of the newborn within the *oikos* in both a practical and a symbolic way.

The formless bundle that is the swaddled infant is nevertheless identified as an individual. The evidence of Euripides’ *Ion* (1417–1425) suggests that babies could be identified according to the decoration of their swaddling cloths, which were made by their mothers prior to marriage and included in her trousseau.<sup>3</sup> While today’s parents might dress their daughters in pink and their sons in blue, according to convention in North America, we have no evidence for the use of color to differentiate the gender of infants in ancient Greece. Instead, ancient Greek artists distinguish between baby boys and girls iconographically by dressing them in miniature versions of adult dress: ideal nudity for boys (Figures 2.3, 4.23), and long garments for girls (Figures 2.2, 7.10).<sup>4</sup>

The same convention carried over for images of older (crawling) babies and toddlers, who are most frequently represented on the miniature *choes* used in the Anthesteria.<sup>5</sup> While it should perhaps be no surprise that children were dressed like adults at this festival in which young children were introduced to the adult world, marked by the consumption of wine, the fact that they wore no specialized dress suggests that childhood was not constructed so differently from adulthood. On the other hand, the particular vulnerability of young children is suggested by the highly visible *baskania* or amulet-strings worn across the chest by many baby boys (e.g., Figure 2.3).

## COMING OF AGE

While the typical dress of young children did not differ significantly from that of adults, the maturation rituals accompanying puberty required distinctive dress and dress practices. Although such rituals were certainly widespread throughout early Greece, the evidence is fairly limited outside of Athens. Given the special concern with female fertility, it should not be surprising

that coming-of-age rituals were especially important for girls. On the other hand, the biological signs of puberty are more easily discernible for boys than for girls, making special rituals less necessary for the social regulation of male adolescence.<sup>6</sup>

### *Girls*

The often-cited passage of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (641–647; see [Chapter 2](#), p. 43) underscores the ritual requirements of young girls at Athens. While these ritual activities prepared girls for their various domestic and religious roles as adult women, the homosocial environment of such rituals allowed adult women to monitor the physical development of young girls in order to identify those on the cusp of puberty and therefore marriageability. It is interesting to note in this passage that dress is specially implicated only in the final two rituals, the Arkteia and the Panathenaia, that is the rituals leading up to, and just following, the onset of menarche, when a girl became a *parthenos*.<sup>7</sup>

The Arkteia was a festival for the goddess Artemis, protectress of women and children (and especially women in childbirth; see pp. 213–214). It took place at Brauron, an extramural sanctuary located on the eastern coast of Attica.<sup>8</sup> The location of the sanctuary far outside the confines of the city of Athens reflects the social significance of the rituals that took place there: it was outside the parameters of civic life, which allowed for a temporary breach of social conventions. Most of the evidence for the Arkteia is iconographic, especially in the decoration of small *krateriskoi* that were dedicated at the sanctuary (similar to [Figure 2.6](#), the provenience of which is unknown).<sup>9</sup> The vases depict girls from the ages of five to ten, clearly distinguished by their physiognomy, running in foot races.<sup>10</sup> Their long, unbound hair, indicates their pre-pubescent status.<sup>11</sup> Some of the younger girls wear short tunics, presumably the *krokotos* (“saffron robe”) mentioned by Aristophanes (*Lysistrata* 644).<sup>12</sup> Saffron was an expensive yellow dye, indicating the elite status of the participants in the ritual. But it was also used for medicinal purposes, especially to relieve the discomforts associated with menstruation, and therefore had special significance for this girls' maturation ritual.<sup>13</sup> Older girls are represented without garments, presumably having shed their saffron robes, as described by Aristophanes. The visual display of the girls' developing bodies allowed adult women (perhaps priestesses?), also represented on the vases, to monitor the girls' physical development. As is characteristic of coming-of-age rituals, the Arkteia represent an inversion of common social norms: the girls run naked like adult men (and wild animals, also depicted in the vases), unfettered by the strictures of society. With the onset of menstruation, girls must be brought under social control; hence, the particularly charged social role of the *parthenos* (see below).

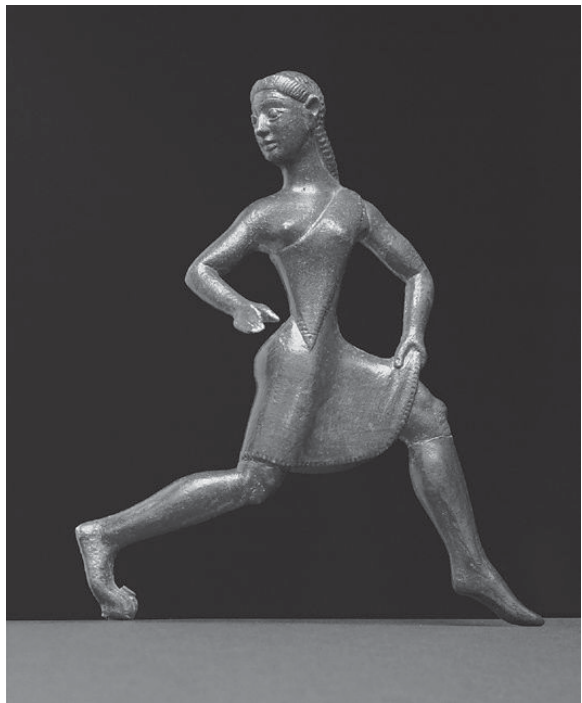
Similar rituals took place elsewhere in Greece. At Olympia, site of the celebrated ritual athletic contests for men, the Heraia included foot races for young girls.<sup>14</sup> Pausanias (ῥ.16.2–4) provides our most complete description of the festival:

Every fourth year there is woven for Hera a robe by the Sixteen Women,<sup>15</sup> and the same also hold games called Heraia. The games consist of foot-races for maidens. These are not all of the same age. The first to run are the youngest; after them come the next in age, and the last to run are the oldest of the maidens. They run in the following way: their hair hangs down, a *chiton* reaches to a little above the knee, and they bare the right shoulder as far as the breast.... To the winning maidens they give crowns of olive and a portion of the cow sacrificed to Hera.... Those who administer to the Sixteen are, like the presidents of the games, married women. The games of the maidens too are traced back to ancient times; they say that, out of gratitude to Hera for her marriage with Pelops, Hippodamaia assembled the Sixteen Women, and with them inaugurated the Heraia.

The garment described by Pausanias is illustrated on a unique bronze statuette of a running girl in the British Museum (Figure 7.1). Nancy Serwint has argued that this garment is identical to the workingman's *exomis*, which would be appropriate for an initiation ritual in which gender norms are inverted.<sup>16</sup>

The fact that the artist has clearly delineated the upper edge of the garment, hanging diagonally across the torso from the left shoulder to the right hip, emphasizes that the typical *chitoniskos* has been unfastened to reveal the budding breast of the adolescent girl. As noted by Pausanias, the games were established in celebration of a mythological marriage and administered by married women; the prenuptial character of the festival is clear. As with the Arkteia, the dress of the participants facilitated the identification of those ready for marriage.

Perhaps not surprisingly, *parthenoi* had highly visible roles in many rituals – most often as *kanephoroi* (basket bearers), who led sacrificial processions. As already noted, a girl who had achieved menarche but



7.1. Bronze statuette of a girl runner, ca. 520–500 BCE, British Museum GR 1876.5–10.1 (Bronze 208), London. ©Trustees of the British Museum.





7.2. Attic red-figure volute *krater*, Kleophon Painter (detail), ca. 430 BCE, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Spina 44894, Ferrara. Photo: A. Dagli Orti. ©DeA Picture Library/Art Resource, NY.



was not yet married was ascribed special status. On the one hand, it was important for the community to keep close watch over her, in order to ensure the preservation of her virginity. On the other hand, her performance of this role put her on public display for the first time, advertising her availability for marriage.<sup>17</sup> *Parthenoi* are frequently depicted as *kanephoroi* in vase painting and sculpture – even monumental sculpture, which rarely depicts mortal women. The dress of the *kanephoros* on a red-figure *amphora* by the Kleophon Painter (Figure 7.2) matches literary descriptions of the fancy dress of basket bearers: she wears a *chiton* underneath a fringed *ependytes* woven with bands of geometric decoration; a long mantle with corner tassels draped over both shoulders falls down her back nearly to the ground.<sup>18</sup> As demonstrated by Linda Roccas, the back mantle, sometimes pinned at the shoulders (as in Figure 7.3), is the distinctive garment

7.3. Grave stele of Theophile, ca. 340–310 BCE, National Archaeological Museum 1305, Athens. ©Hellenic Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.





7.4. Caryatid from the Erechtheion (front and back views), ca. 420 BCE, British Museum Sc407, London. ©Trustees of the British Museum.

of the *kanephoros*, and identifies the *parthenos* in this role even when she is not holding a basket, as on the east (Ionic) frieze of the Parthenon and, most impressively, the caryatids on the Erechtheion (Figure 7.4a). *Kanephoroi* are also identifiable by their hairstyle, usually a type of thick braid hanging down the back (as seen in both Figure 7.2 and Figure 7.4b).<sup>19</sup> As discussed in Chapter 3, the long hair, a symbol of sexuality, is only partly contained by the braid; it will be bound up completely upon marriage. Three of the Erechtheion caryatids also have front braids extending along the central part starting at the peak of the forehead.<sup>20</sup> On the one hand, this second braid would have made visible in the front the notion of partial containment.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, it might function as a visible analogue to the ritual haircut that will take place prior to her marriage (see p. 207).

### Boys

Given the social significance of the male youth in ancient Greece, it is perhaps surprising that boys' coming-of-age rituals are less common than for girls. On the one hand, as suggested earlier, the biological signs of puberty (most notably the appearance of facial hair; see Chapter 3, p. 76) are more apparent for boys

than for girls. On the other hand, the transition from childhood to adolescence was arguably less profound for boys. Whereas girls would marry and produce children soon following menarche, boys would enter the military in late adolescence, waiting well into adulthood to marry. Given the distinct feminine connotations of garments, it is perhaps not surprising that boys' coming of age is often marked by a type of ritual transvestism.

The evidence for boys' maturation rituals is generally late and likely reflects a distinctly Dorian tradition. In the Hellenistic period, youths from the Cretan city of Phaistos participated in a festival called the *Ekdusia*, "Festival of Disrobing," in which they removed feminine garments in exchange for masculine dress.<sup>22</sup> This temporary inversion of gendered dress marked the transition to adulthood, when young men became citizens. Similar rituals took place across Crete: in some cities, the event concluded with a "donning of arms," when the initiate put on armor for the first time; at other places, the initiate performed athletics in the nude.<sup>23</sup>

At Athens, the *Oschophoria* also had a Cretan connection. This festival to Dionysos and Athena featured a procession led by two pubescent boys dressed as girls, to commemorate the defeat of the Minotaur by the Athenian hero Theseus, who had tricked him by substituting boys for girls.<sup>24</sup> Although the extant textual evidence is late, two red-figure *kylikes* representing young male figures wearing feminine *chitones* may represent this ritual.<sup>25</sup> As has been noted by several scholars, this ritual transvestism is appropriate not only because of the transitional nature of the rite but also because of its Dionysiac character.<sup>26</sup>

A more explicit coming-of-age ritual for Athenian boys is the *Koureion*, which took place annually on the third day of the *Apatouria*.<sup>27</sup> On this day, adolescent boys, probably age fourteen, were officially accepted into their fathers' *phratries*. The event was marked by musical contests, animal sacrifices and, according to some late sources, the dedication of a lock of hair (*koreion*). Hair growing and haircutting rituals for were widespread in Greece and were generally private, family events rather than public displays. David Leitaos is right to point out the performative aspect of such rituals: as the cephalic hair (sometimes just a single lock) was allowed to grow, it functioned as a visual symbol of divine protection; the ritual cutting of the hair marked the end of childhood, and the dedication of the lock served as a thank-offering to the god for the preservation of the child into adulthood.<sup>28</sup> Of course, actual dedications of hair do not survive in the archaeological record, but a few votives made of more durable materials do survive, such as the undated marble relief in the British Museum of two plaited locks dedicated to Poseidon (Figure 7.5).<sup>29</sup> Evelyn Harrison suggested that the hairstyles of the *kouroi*, cut short in the front, may reflect a ritual haircutting; interestingly, given the importance of the hero Theseus for boys' coming of age at Athens, this hairstyle is identified by Plutarch as the *Theseis*.<sup>30</sup>



7.5. Fragment of marble votive relief dedicated to Poseidon by Philobrotos and Aphthonetos, British Museum Sc 798, London. ©Trustees of the British Museum.

## MILITARY

Following puberty, adolescent boys entered a period of military training and service. While military dress changed over time, arms and armor reflected the identity of the warrior on multiple levels.<sup>31</sup> The profound significance of the Greek panoply for the construction of masculinity is clear from the earliest periods.<sup>32</sup> In Attic vase painting, the age-grade of the *ephebe* is specifically identified by spears (e.g., [Figure 4.10](#)).<sup>33</sup> Greek literature is filled with descriptions of finely wrought arms and armor, most famously the shield of Achilles in Homer's *Iliad* (18.478–608); the exceptional expense of such items made them important indicators of wealth and elite status.<sup>34</sup> That Greek armor functioned also as a marker of ethnicity is suggested by the statement of Herodotus that Greek mercenaries were known to the Egyptians as “men of bronze” (2.152).<sup>35</sup>

An astonishing array of shields, helmets, breastplates (see [Figure 7.6](#)), greaves, and weapons has been preserved archaeologically, in burials as well as in sanctuaries such as Olympia, where arms and armor were dedicated as thank-offerings for success on the battlefield.<sup>36</sup> The actual remains yield important



7.6. Bronze muscle cuirass, fourth century BCE, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Estée Lauder Inc., 1992 (1992.180.3), New York. ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.

information about the size and weight of arms and armor and give a sense of the physical experience of using them.<sup>37</sup> The archaeological evidence confirms the literary descriptions of arms and armor so heavy that a personal servant was required to carry such items into the battlefield, where the soldier would take them up only in the last moments prior to combat.<sup>38</sup>

The necessity of an assistant underscores the elite status of the highly armed hoplite soldier. Bronze arms and armor required specialized production and were therefore purchased rather than made within the household. Although shields and spears were mass produced, custom-made articles provided a means of ostentatious display.<sup>39</sup> As noted by Hans van Wees, the thin bronze sheeting used for most Greek armor was too thin to have provided much protection; its function must therefore have been primarily aesthetic rather than practical.<sup>40</sup> Indeed, surviving breastplates (e.g., [Figure 7.6](#))

and greaves are modeled to replicate the appearance of well-defined musculature, replicating the ideal, athletic, body type; and the highly polished surface would have shone in the sun like the oiled skin of an athlete.<sup>41</sup>

Scenes of warriors arming for battle are commonly depicted on Greek vases, as for example on the red-figure *amphora* by Euthymides in Munich ([Figure 4.15](#)) showing a youth labeled Thorykion (“wearer of a breastplate”) fastening a leather or linen corselet over his short *chitoniskos*.<sup>42</sup> Arming scenes are among the few contexts in which male figures are shown manipulating their dress, and Andrew Lear has suggested that such imagery on *symposion* vessels must be considered pederastic.<sup>43</sup> But similar scenes also appear on white-ground *lekythoi*, funerary vessels perhaps intended to be buried with a deceased warrior.<sup>44</sup> The widespread practice of burying males with their armor underscores the profound significance of such articles for the construction of identity.<sup>45</sup>



## MARRIAGE

Marriage marked the beginning of the most important transition in the female life span, from *parthenos* to *gyne*. As described earlier, the body of the *parthenos* is perhaps the most closely regulated in Greek society. The wedding was likewise highly circumscribed, emphasizing the spatial, physical, and psychic transition of the bride. Every stage of this transition was marked by means of dress.<sup>46</sup>

*The Nymphe*

Prior to her marriage, the bride sheds her former identity by shedding her clothes. While the races run by naked young girls at the Arkteia represent a temporary inversion of social norms, the bride marks her permanent transition from childhood to married life by dedicating articles of dress to various divinities, especially Artemis.<sup>47</sup> An anonymous epigram preserved in the *Palatine Anthology* records such a dedication:

Timarete, the daughter of Timaretos, before her wedding, has dedicated her tambourine, her pretty ball, the net that shielded her hair, her hair, and her girls' dresses to Artemis of the Lake, a girl to a girl, as is fit. You, daughter of Leto, hold your hand over the child Timarete, and protect the pure girl in a pure way. (*Palatine Anthology*, 6.280)<sup>48</sup>

Although the date of the original composition is unknown, the text reflects an apparently widespread practice of dedicating “childish things” prior to marriage.<sup>49</sup> The hairnet may be the fillet that bound the distinctive hairstyle of *parthenoi* (see [Figure 3.9](#)). Dedications of hair are typical of boys' coming-of-age rituals (such as the Apatouria at Athens; see p. 204 and [Fig. 7.5](#)) and were common dedications by girls on the cusp of marriage.<sup>50</sup> Finally, the dedication of “girls' dresses” demonstrates that the bride will no longer have need of her childhood garments as she takes on her new identity as wife.<sup>51</sup>

Another common dedication to Artemis and other female divinities was the belt that girded the garment of the *parthenos*.<sup>52</sup> As seen in [Figure 4.7](#), the mortal woman on the right unties the tasseled cord from around her waist in the presence of Artemis, whose “girlish” identity is underscored by her ungirded *peplos* and long, unbound hair. Such imagery anticipates the untying of the bridal belt by the groom on the wedding night, symbolic of the “loosening” of the virginity of the bride.<sup>53</sup>

The act of dressing the bride was clearly of central importance to the wedding itself, given its prominence in the iconography of Greek vases – especially “women's pots” of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE.<sup>54</sup> These vases, whether intended as wedding gifts or as grave goods for unmarried women, are our primary source of information about the Greek wedding, which is described

only in very general terms in the literary sources.<sup>55</sup> Although the corpus is quite varied in the details, some commonalities can be traced throughout. In general, scenes of bridal preparations illustrate a homosocial environment in which the bride is attended by other women and girls (e.g., [Figure 3.8](#)). These are the *nymphheutria*, or bridal attendants, who were chosen by the family of the bride. Although it is unclear from the literary sources whether the bridal attendants had specific roles and titles, the variety in their dress in the visual sources underscores their diversity.<sup>56</sup> Another distinctive feature of the bridal scenes is the emphasis on luxury: the bride's garments are finely woven, typically diaphanous, and are often distinguished by all-over surface patterns (e.g., [Figures 7.7, 7.8](#)); her attendants bring gold jewelry ([Figure 5.7](#)), expensive perfumes ([Figure 3.5](#)), and other exotic imports such as fans ([Figure 5.23](#)). Clearly the family of the bride advertised their wealth by means of dress; the overall effect is one of conspicuous consumption.<sup>57</sup>

The process of dressing the bride is represented in a kind of cinematic fashion on the exterior of a red-figure *pyxis* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art ([Figure 7.7](#)). The first stage is the bridal bath, which we know about from multiple visual and textual sources.<sup>58</sup> The water for the bath was taken from sacred springs, often sources associated with Aphrodite or the nymphs.<sup>59</sup> Special vases known as *loutrophoroi* (e.g., [Figure 7.8](#)) were employed to carry the water to the home of the bride; *loutrophoroi* are often represented pictorially carried by attendants.<sup>60</sup> On the New York *pyxis* two attendants decorate a *loutrophoros* with fillets to indicate its sacred nature, while the water for the bridal bath is poured from a *hydria* held by Eros (compare [Figure 3.8](#)). The bathing bride represents one of the few contexts in which proper women are represented without garments (see [Chapter 6](#)). Her nudity is required on account of the bath, of course, but also connotes her fertility, emphasized by the three-quarters view of her breasts.<sup>61</sup> The bath itself was believed to induce fertility and marked the transition from *parthenos* to wife.

Following the bath, the bride would be anointed with perfumed oil. On the *pyxis*, the perfuming of the bride is alluded to by the presence of the *lekythos* above her head, accompanied by a mirror; the *alabastron* and *plemochoe* ([Figures 3.5, 7.8](#)) are more commonly represented as containers for perfumes and unguents.

The bride would then dress in multiple layers of garments.<sup>62</sup> On the New York *pyxis*, the figure standing to the right of the bather has been interpreted as the bride wearing a diaphanous, spotted *chiton*; she holds the fine fabric in her teeth in order to tie a fillet around her waist. Spotted garments are relatively rare in Greek iconography.<sup>63</sup> Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood has suggested that the spotted *peploi* depicted on the Locrian *pinakes* (e.g., [Figure 7.12b](#)) are in fact special-purpose bridal garments.<sup>64</sup> The bride in [Figure 7.8](#) seems to wear





7.7. Red-figure *pyxis*, unattributed, ca. 430–420 BCE, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971 (1972.118.148), New York. ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY. Rollout drawing: Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art* (London, 1904), pl. 100.

a spotted garment underneath her undecorated *chiton* and *himation*.<sup>65</sup> The fact that this garment is worn closest to the body suggests that it might have particular significance for the transformation of the bride at her wedding. It is tempting to compare the modern Greek tradition of displaying the bride's blood-spotted chemise on the morning after the consummation of her marriage as “proof” of her virginity.<sup>66</sup> Could the spotted garment be intended to bring about the necessary stains – or perhaps camouflage their absence? Aside from the spotted garment, nothing distinguishes the garments of the bride from typical feminine dress. Sappho refers to a bride as *iokolpos* (“with



7.8. Attic red-figure *loutrophoros* (photographic rollout), ca. 450–425 BCE, Museum of Fine Arts 03.802, Boston. Photograph ©2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

purple overfold”),<sup>67</sup> but it seems that no specific color was prescribed. Rather, the purple color indicates an expensive garment, as might be expected for this most important occasion. The multiplicity of fine garments advertised the wealth of the family but also protected the bride as she undertook the perilous transition from her natal household to that of her new husband, from *parthenos* to married woman.<sup>68</sup>

The next stage of the adornment of the bride would be the binding of her hair. On the New York *pyxis*, the figure wearing the spotted *chiton* has a mass of wavy locks cascading past her shoulders. On the other side of the attendants decorating the *loutrophoros*, another standing female binds her head with a fillet. Although it is unclear whether this figure should be identified as the bride or another attendant, her frontal pose suggests that she is of particular importance and therefore may be the bride. The act of binding the hair reflects the transitional nature of the wedding ritual: the girl’s “wildness” will be tamed by the institution of marriage, her sexuality reserved for her husband only.<sup>69</sup>

The final elements of the bride’s dress are better illustrated on the red-figure *lekythos* in Figure 5.7. The artist has emphasized the golden jewelry and bridal crown with the use of added clay and gilding. Both the bride and her attendants are adorned with earrings, beaded necklaces, bangle-style bracelets, and belts embellished with beads. One of the attendants holds a golden crown for the bride, who adjusts her veil in anticipation of the *anakalypteria* (discussed later). To underscore the erotic aspect of her adornment, a winged Eros kneels at the bride’s feet to fasten her *nymphides* (bridal sandals). As discussed in Chapter 5, footwear connotes transitions generally, and sexual status more specifically.

Given the extraordinary attention paid to the dress of the bride, it is surprising (or perhaps not) that the dress of the groom is not emphasized in either the literary or the visual sources. As already mentioned, the fact that women

are responsible for the production of both children and textiles may explain this discrepancy. In addition, garments and other articles of dress represent the wealth of the bride's family that was transferred along with the bride as part of her trousseau;<sup>70</sup> hence, the dress of the groom is of less importance. Nevertheless, the groom also underwent a kind of transformation as part of the wedding ritual, and this change in status was facilitated by means of dress. It seems that the groom also bathed prior to the wedding and was anointed with perfumes, especially myrrh.<sup>71</sup> The groom in the wedding procession in [Figure 7.8](#) wears a wreath made of plants, perhaps sesame for fertility, or mint for its supposed aphrodisiac qualities.<sup>72</sup> Of particular interest is the groom's *himation*, which is spotted like some bridal garments. On the one hand, the spots may simply serve to link the bride and groom visually. On the other hand, the adoption of this distinctly feminine garment by the groom might represent a temporary inversion of gender that is characteristic of wedding rituals at certain locations.<sup>73</sup> Although the evidence is late, Plutarch claims that bridegrooms on Kos wore women's dress (*Moralia*, 304c–e), while Spartan brides cut their hair short and dressed in a man's cloak and sandals (*Lycurgus*, 15.3). Whether or not such statements are to be trusted, the inversion of gendered dress should be viewed as a variation of the transvestism that accompanied some coming-of-age rituals (p. 204).

### *Anakalypteria*

The central event of the Greek wedding was the *anakalypteria* or “unveiling,” during which the bride was revealed to the groom, perhaps for the first time.<sup>74</sup> The evidence for this ritual is complex and often contradictory. The textual sources are mostly late and disagree as to whether the unveiling took place at the beginning of the wedding ceremony or at the end, at the home of the bride or that of the groom, in public or in private. Likewise, the visual evidence cannot be taken at face value. For example, in [Figure 7.8](#), the bride wears a separate veil decorated with an all-over star pattern, arranged in folds over the head to reveal her face and bridal crown.<sup>75</sup> This iconographic shorthand allowed the artist to show the beauty and erotic charms of the bride (provided, in this case, by the two winged Erotes hovering about her head).<sup>76</sup> In reality, the bride would have been completely covered during the journey from her natal household to that of her husband.

In his study of Greek veiling practices, Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones attempts to reconcile the divergent evidence by proposing that the *anakalypteria* was not a single event but a series of three unveilings: at the bridal banquet hosted at the home of the bride; upon the arrival of the wedding party at the home of the groom; and finally in the privacy of the bridal chamber.<sup>77</sup> The significance of the *anakalypteria* rests on whether the veil was removed by the bride herself,

or by her attendants or the groom. Llewellyn-Jones argues that the veil is handled by others and that the repeated veiling and unveiling amounts to a kind of ritual humiliation of the bride, symbolizing her penetration by her new husband.<sup>78</sup>

Gloria Ferrari offers a less specific identification of the *anakalypteria* that accounts better for the inconsistencies in the textual and iconographic evidence.<sup>79</sup> Emphasizing the mythological *aition* (foundation legend) for the *anakalypteria*, she suggests that the term does not refer to a ritual unveiling but rather the day on which the bride emerged from seclusion. In the fragmentary cosmogony of Pherekydes of Syros (sixth century BCE), Zas (Zeus) weaves the entire world into a large *pharos* (mantle), which he offers to Chthonia (“she who is beneath the earth”) as a wedding gift. Just as Chthonia’s acceptance of the mantle signifies her transformation into fertile ground, the bridal veil signifies the transformation of the bride into a “woman for the sowing of legitimate children.”<sup>80</sup> The gesture of holding the veil in front of the face, commonly represented in wedding iconography (e.g., the seated figure in [Figure 7.7b](#), identified as the bride or perhaps Aphrodite), served to reveal the face of the bride to her groom, while shielding it from the gaze of other men. Rather than humiliation, the veiling and unveiling of the bride represents her acceptance into the household of her husband and her proper performance of *aidos* (modesty).

#### MATERNITY AND CHILDBIRTH

The transition from *parthenos* to *gyne* was not complete until the married woman had borne a child.<sup>81</sup> Hence, the bride would have remained in a period of limbo for some time following the wedding. Assuming that the desired pregnancy occurred on her wedding night (or soon thereafter), the newly married woman would have entered into yet another period of transition: pregnancy.

Women’s experiences of maternity and childbirth vary from culture to culture, and individual to individual. But a universal experience of pregnancy and parturition is a profound change in embodiment. A pregnant woman experiences dramatic physiological changes that are only partly perceptible to the community. Pregnancy also brings a range of psychological and emotional changes, from the fear of the pain of childbirth, to concern for the health of the child, to the anticipation of impending motherhood. While we lack direct evidence for women’s individual experiences of pregnancy and childbirth, the textual, archaeological, and artistic evidence suggest that pregnancy and childbirth were especially charged for women in ancient Greece, and that they negotiated their experiences in part by means of dress.<sup>82</sup>



Images of women that can be identified with certainty as pregnant are relatively few. Some votive plaques depicting women in sacrificial contexts have been interpreted by some as images of pregnant women asking for divine protection during childbirth, or as women postpartum offering thanks for a good delivery.<sup>83</sup> The garments of these figures are indistinguishable from the everyday *chitones* and *himatia* worn by other women, except that they are unbelted.<sup>84</sup> Likewise, terra cotta figurines representing pregnant women do not appear to wear special-purpose maternity dress, though a Hellenistic votive figurine of a nude, pregnant female in the Louvre (Figure 7.9) wears an amulet cord underneath the breasts, perhaps as a protective device or to facilitate the birthing process.<sup>85</sup> The fact that women seem to have worn their regular dress throughout their pregnancies can be explained on a functional level by the unstructured design of Greek garments, which could be easily adapted to the changing shape of the pregnant female body. (Indeed, given the draped arrangement of Greek garments, a pregnancy might not have been discernible to others until it was quite advanced.)

But garments and other dress accessories played an important role in pregnancy and childbirth, as votive dedications to divinities charged with the protection of laboring women. At the rural sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, women dedicated garments and other articles of dress to the goddess – presumably as thank-offerings for successful deliveries, though Euripides' tragedy *Iphigenia among the Taurians* (1462–1467) suggests that garments were dedicated on behalf of those who had died in childbirth.<sup>86</sup> The objects themselves no longer survive, but their high value is confirmed by the fact that an inventory of the dedications, inscribed on a series of marble *stelai*, was displayed on the Athenian Acropolis.<sup>87</sup> The text gives important evidence for the types



7.9. Terracotta votive figurine, Hellenistic period, Musée du Louvre CA 5231, Paris. ©RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.



7.10. Marble votive relief from Echinus, fourth century BCE, Lamia Archaeological Museum AE 1041, Lamia. Drawing by Glynnis Fawkes.

of garments dedicated, their color, decoration, even condition, as well as the names of some of the dedicators.

A vivid illustration of votive “maternity” garments can be found on a marble relief from Echinus (Figure 7.10) depicting a scene of sacrifice to Artemis. Yvette Morizot has argued that the heavily draped figure on the far left is the new mother, who has come to the sanctuary for ritual purification following childbirth.<sup>88</sup> Her successful labor is indicated, not only by the central position of the infant in the arms of her wetnurse, but by the articles of dress displayed as if hanging from a clothesline in the sanctuary. Having dedicated the garments she wore during her pregnancy, the new mother is especially vulnerable throughout the period of her lying-in. As I have argued elsewhere, the multiple layers of enveloping garments she wears protect her from malignant forces, while also protecting the community from the *miasma* (pollution) associated with childbirth.<sup>89</sup> Following her ritual purification in the sanctuary, she will assume the identity, and the dress, of the *gyne*.

#### RELIGION AND RITUAL

The particular concern with women’s dress in marriage and childbirth continued throughout the life of the *gyne*, especially in the context of religion and ritual, in which women performed their most public roles.<sup>90</sup> It will be seen that although dress was an important feature of religious life for both men and women, women were especially subject to prescriptions and proscriptions of dress, and they were primarily responsible for cultic activities involving dress. While the strict parameters surrounding women and dress in religious



contexts have been interpreted as a means of social control,<sup>91</sup> the evidence suggests that dress conferred a certain degree of status on women within the realm of the sacred.

### *Prescriptions and Proscriptions of Dress in Greek Sanctuaries*

The dress of worshippers in Greek sanctuaries was highly regulated. Multiple examples of such regulations survive in the epigraphic corpus,<sup>92</sup> but perhaps the best known, and most informative, is the extensive Andania inscription, which specifies the proper dress for initiates into a Messenian mystery cult:

Concerning Clothes: Those being initiated in the Mysteries must be barefoot and wear white clothes, the women wearing neither transparent clothes nor stripes on their *himatia* more than half a *daktylos* wide. And the free adult women must wear a linen *chiton* and *himation* worth in total no more than 100 *drachmas*, the girls a *kalasiris*<sup>93</sup> or a *sindonitis*<sup>94</sup> and a *himation* worth in total no more than one *mina*, and the female slaves a *kalasiris* or a *sindonitis* and a *himation* worth in total no more than 50 *drachmas*. Of the sacred women, the adults must wear a *kalasiris* or *upoduma* without decorations and a *himation* worth in total no more than two *minas*, and the girls a *kalasiris* and *himation* worth in total no more than 100 *drachmas*. In the procession the sacred women must wear a *upodutas* and a wool woman's *himation* with stripes no more than half a *daktylos* wide, and the girls must wear a *kalasiris* and a *himation* that is not transparent. No woman is to have gold, rouge, white lead make-up, a hair-band, plaited hair, or shoes unless of felt or sacrificial leather. (lines 15–23)<sup>95</sup>

The prescriptions and proscriptions of dress recorded in the Andania inscription find parallels throughout the Greek world.<sup>96</sup> It was general practice for worshippers to remove their shoes upon entrance into a sanctuary (e.g., Figure 6.8).<sup>97</sup> On the one hand, the requirement of bare feet preserved the sacred cleanliness of the sanctuary; on the other hand, the removal of footwear symbolized the transition from the profane world to the realm of the sacred.<sup>98</sup> The prescription of white garments is likewise widespread.<sup>99</sup> Patterned or brightly colored, purple, and black garments are expressly prohibited at several sanctuaries, though they were sometimes permitted as dedications to the divinity (discussed later). Colorful garments may have been inappropriate in sanctuary contexts because of the costliness of the dyes (especially purple), which would have created an ostentatious display of wealth; indeed, colored garments were generally reserved for cult officials. Certainly the color black would have been inappropriate because of its funerary associations.<sup>100</sup> The universal requirement of white garments allowed for easy visual confirmation of cleanliness, and therefore ritual purity, and would have created a sense of uniformity among the congregants.<sup>101</sup> The stipulation that initiates not wear

see-through garments should not be interpreted as a means of preventing the participation of *hetairai*, who were often identified with transparent garments; the prohibition against such finely woven articles was intended to restrict outward displays of wealth and of the body.<sup>102</sup> Interestingly, decorative or colored bands are not prohibited completely; they are only limited in width, which suggests that visual markers of status were permissible within certain parameters.<sup>103</sup> In the Andania inscription, a particular concern with dress as an outward display of wealth is indicated by the limits provided for the costs of garments, which differ according to gender, age, and social status (free or slave), as well as the sacral role of the individual (initiate or sacred official).<sup>104</sup>

The epigraphic evidence suggests that women's dress was especially restricted in Greek sanctuaries. At Andania, women were not permitted to wear gold jewelry, cosmetics, or hairbands; their hair could not be braided; and they could not have purple parasols. As with the garments, the restrictions on jewelry and cosmetics were not necessarily a means of excluding *hetairai*. More likely, they were intended as limitations on personal displays of wealth; certainly the prohibition of purple parasols should be read as such. The stipulation that offending items must be dedicated to the divinity is common in the epigraphic corpus. Given the high value of jewelry and other accessories, as well as garments, the consecration of such items would have served to bolster the coffers of the sanctuary. Restrictions on modifications to the body such as the use of cosmetics<sup>105</sup> or hairstyling had no such monetary value (save, perhaps, the outward display of the services of a slave) and may be read as having a purely sacred function: while women typically made up their faces and bound up their hair, in the sacred space of the sanctuary they did the opposite.<sup>106</sup>

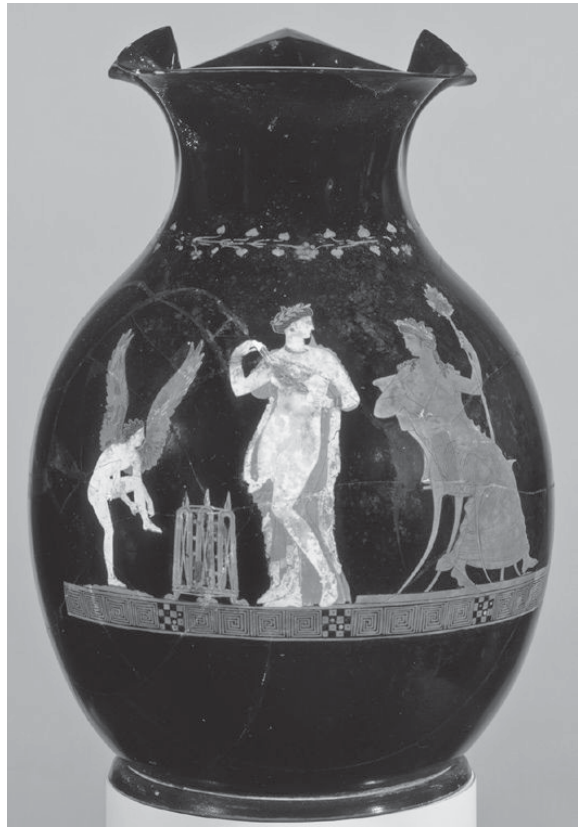
### *The Dress of Religious Officials*

Whereas the strict regulations governing the dress of initiates had an equalizing effect, cult officials were distinguished by their extraordinary dress. Again, the epigraphic corpus is our best source of evidence.<sup>107</sup> Interestingly, the religious officials identified in the inscriptions are predominantly male. The particular attention to their dress suggests an inversion of gender in the sacred realm: whereas women are especially identified with their dress in their daily lives, and as general worshippers, men in positions of high status within the cult adopt articles of dress that would otherwise be considered feminine, in particular colorful garments and jewelry.

At Andania, the group of overseers known as the Ten were required to wear a purple *strophion*, a type of sacral headdress known also from other sites.<sup>108</sup> The purple color and high visibility of the headdress distinguished these officials from other participants in the ritual. Elsewhere, priests are often identified by their purple garments and gold crowns and rings, exceptional because of their

expense as well as their high visibility. Garments of purple together with white marked both ritual status and ritual purity.<sup>109</sup> Much of the evidence for priestly dress comes from descriptions of religious processions, which were literally spectacular events in which those with specific sacral roles were marked by means of dress, colored garments in particular.

The significance of both dress and gender in ritual processions is vividly illustrated by a fourth-century Kerch-style *oinochoe* in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 7.11) depicting *Pompe*, the personification of procession. *Pompe* is represented in the process of dressing for the event, holding her transparent *chiton* in her teeth in order to fasten a *zone* made of golden leaves around her waist. The pinkish color preserved on her *chiton* calls to mind the purple garments reserved for cult officials, while her golden belt, jewelry, and wreath in her hair recall the highly visible displays of priestly status and wealth described in the textual sources.



7.11. Attic red-figure Kerch-style *oinochoe*, ca. 370–360 BCE, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1925 (25.190), New York. ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Despite the central importance of dress – and of women’s roles – in the context of religious processions, the dress of priestesses is difficult to ascertain. The epigraphic sources do not typically describe the dress of female cult officials, and the visual sources are even less emphatic. On Greek vases and on funerary reliefs, the only secure attribute of the priestess is the temple key, which is both a symbol of her office and a handheld accessory.<sup>110</sup> Images of women without temple keys, performing cult activities in sanctuary contexts, have been variously identified as generic worshippers, priestesses, and goddesses. For example, Figure 4.21 depicts a woman facing an altar, pouring a libation from a *phiale*. Her dress is indistinguishable from that of other elite women – with the exception, perhaps, of the purple color of her mantle, which is arranged over both shoulders rather than draped diagonally around the body as the *himation* is typically worn.<sup>111</sup> Given the importance of purple garments for male priests, the mantle might identify her as a priestess. On the other hand, the scepter in

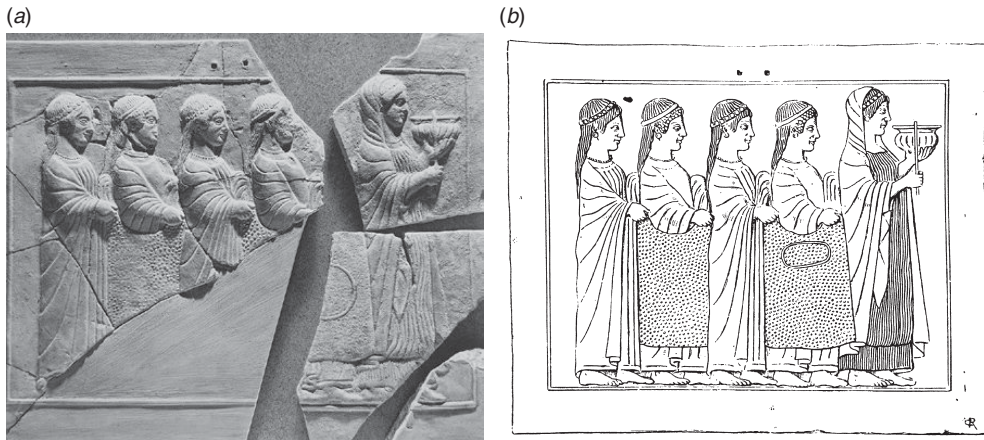
her other hand could indicate that she represents Hera as queen of the gods.<sup>112</sup> Joan Connelly notes that priestesses appeared in the guise of goddesses in ritual dramas, which may explain our difficulty in deciphering this image.<sup>113</sup>

### *Articles of Dress as Cultic Objects*

If the dress of female religious officials is difficult to decipher, the evidence for women's control over dress in cult practice is clear. As described earlier, girls and women dedicated articles of dress to Artemis and other female deities at marriage and childbirth: that is, at the beginning and end of the transition from *parthenos* to *gyne*.<sup>114</sup> On the one hand, such votives represent articles of dress that were no longer needed; on the other hand, they were tangible symbols of the protection of the goddess. The monetary value of garment-dedications should not be underestimated.<sup>115</sup> The display of votive garments in sanctuaries (e.g., [Figure 7.10](#)) advertised the willingness of the dedicator to remove such articles from household use, representing a great expenditure of time and resources; the quality of materials and artisanship reflected the means and abilities of the dedicator herself.<sup>116</sup> Finally, votive garments represent a high degree of intimacy between the dedicator and the goddess. According to the Brauron inscriptions, some garments adorned the cult statues themselves, demonstrating in a profound way the reciprocal relationship between human and divine.<sup>117</sup>

Garments were also communal dedications made on behalf of entire communities. The best-known example is the Panathenaic *peplos* (see pp. 222–223), but garments were ritually woven and dedicated at other sanctuaries as well. According to Pausanias, the Sixteen Women responsible for overseeing the Olympian Heraia (p. 201) also dedicated a *peplos* to Hera every four years.<sup>118</sup> The garment was woven collectively in a special building in the agora at Elis; it is assumed that the *peplos* was then paraded in procession to Olympia, where it was offered to the goddess prior to the games.<sup>119</sup> Archaeological evidence for communal weaving has come to light at Foce del Sele (Magna Graecia), where large numbers of pyramidal terra cotta loom-weights were recovered from a square building in the sanctuary to Hera. The large number and uniformity of the finds suggests that they were not individual votives; rather, the building seems to have housed between seventy and eighty weavers engaged in ritual textile production for the goddess.<sup>120</sup>

Also in Magna Graecia, a series of early fifth-century BCE votive plaques from the site of Epizephyrian Locris provides important iconographic evidence for garment dedications. The mold-made terra cottas were dedicated to either Aphrodite or Persephone. In either case, the votives are clearly nuptial in character. Among other subjects related to the cult, the *pinakes* depict individuals and groups of maidens carrying garments in procession (e.g., [Figure 7.12a](#));



7.12. Fragmentary terra cotta *pinax*, first half of fifth century BCE, Reggio-Calabria. Photo by Leonard Von Matt, ©2013 Swiss Foundation of Photography/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Reconstruction by P. Orsi, “Locri Epizefiri. Resoconto sulla terza campagna di scavi Locresi,” *BdA* 3 (1909), Figure 25.

maidens offering garments to a seated goddess; and maidens (or perhaps the goddess herself?) storing garments in rectangular chests.<sup>121</sup> Some of the garments display an all-over spotted pattern, which Sourvinou-Inwood identified as bridal in character.<sup>122</sup> She suggested that the individual maidens carrying folded garments are brides bringing their wedding *peploi* for blessing by the goddess, while the groups of maidens bearing unfolded garments are performing a “*peplophoria*” in celebration of the wedding of Persephone.

Although the garments themselves no longer survive, we have abundant archaeological evidence for the dedication of dress fasteners and other articles of dress. As discussed in [Chapter 5](#) (pp. 128–129), most functional dress fasteners are early in date, with very few later than the seventh century BCE. Hera seems to have been a primary recipient; thousands of bronze pins and fibulae have been recovered from her sanctuaries at Olympia, Perachora, and at the Argive Heraion, where many examples appear to have been dedicated in pairs.<sup>123</sup> Some exceptionally large pins, incorrectly identified by some early excavators as spits for roasting sacrificial meat, were votive pins made to be dedicated rather than worn. The same is likely true for an exceptional deposit of pins, fibulae, and brooches from the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos, dating to the second half of the seventh century BCE. The fasteners are of diminutive size and made of precious materials, including gold, electrum, silver, and semi-precious stones, and were apparently nonfunctional.<sup>124</sup> Jewelry of all kinds was also dedicated in sanctuaries, as were mirrors of bronze and silver. Although such votives are almost never inscribed, given their feminine connotations, they were likely dedicated by women. Bronze arms and armor were common dedications by men as thank-offerings for success on the battlefield. Cult officials dedicated

golden wreaths as symbols of their office. In all of these cases, the objects dedicated had inherent value; but unlike coinage, for example, articles of dress connected the votive to the dedicator in a profoundly personal way.

While the practice of dedicating garments and other articles of dress seems to have been widespread, evidence for the ritual adornment of statues is inconclusive. Some have read the epigraphic sources describing garments draped on cult statues as evidence for a kind of dressing ritual, but this may have been more of an ad hoc practice. On the other hand, there is ample evidence for the bathing of cult statues at various sites (especially at Athens, as discussed later), and it may be that statues were dressed following such rituals.

### *Ritual Dress Practices*

While individuals were required to conform to sacral regulations concerning dress (pp. 215–216), there is evidence for a wide range of dress practices in various rituals. As described in [Chapter 3](#), the *diaita* had certain ritual components, ranging from the eating of sacrificial meat, to the performance of athletics, to bathing. Ritual bathing was a widespread practice, and Greek sanctuaries were outfitted with monumental bathing facilities as early as the fifth century BCE.<sup>125</sup> Prior to any ritual, participants would wash their hands or sprinkle themselves with lustral water; complex rituals such as incubation, initiation, mysteries, and prophesy required more elaborate ceremonial washing. According to Robert Parker, bathing was not necessarily intended to bring ritual purity but to bring the individual out of the everyday world and into the realm of the sacred.<sup>126</sup> The transformative capacities of bathing are demonstrated by the prominence of baths in sanctuaries to Asklepios as god of healing and in Hippocratic medicine.<sup>127</sup>

The notion of personal transformation by means of ritual is underscored by the practice of transvestism in Greek religion. As discussed previously, transvestism is a feature of coming-of-age rituals for both boys and girls. Cross-dressing by adults is generally associated with the worship of Dionysos and the alterity brought on by the consumption of wine.<sup>128</sup> The series of so-called Anacreontic vases show bearded men wearing long *chitones* and *himatia*, *mitrae*, soft boots, and jewelry, and holding feminine articles such as parasols ([Figure 7.13](#)); the men have been identified as *komasts* dancing in the revel that followed the *symposion*.<sup>129</sup> The men are not trying to “pass” as women; rather, their exaggerated beards emphasize their masculinity and elite status.<sup>130</sup> The Eastern connotations of their effeminate dress further emphasize their Greek identity, which is never at risk despite the effects of the wine.<sup>131</sup>

Ritual nudity should perhaps be considered a corollary to ritual transvestism. While nudity was a feature of maturation rituals for both sexes (e.g., [Figure 2.6](#)), it was also expected, or at least accepted, in the context of the





7.13. Attic red-figure *amphora*, Flying-Angel Painter, ca. 500–475 BCE, Musée du Louvre G220, Paris. Photo: Hervé Lewandowski. ©RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.

*symposion* (Figures 3.10, 6.1). But athletic nudity is also a kind of ritual nudity. Although most stress the heroic, idealizing – and voyeuristic – nature of athletic nudity, Greek athletics were fundamentally ritual events.<sup>132</sup> From this perspective, we might view the removal of garments and anointing with oil (Figure 3.1a) as ritual preparations; the performance of athletics in the nude (Figure 3.1b) as a liminal event; and the use of the strigil (Figures 3.2a, 3.3) and bathing (Figure 3.2b) following exercise as a kind of restoration prior to resuming the mundane activities of everyday life.

A broad range of other dress practices is attested in the context of Greek religion and ritual. Wreaths are a common feature of most rituals, from initiation, to athletic competition, to the *symposion*.<sup>133</sup> A wreath worn on the head was highly visible and marked the individual as a participant in ritual – especially in the absence of other articles of dress, as in athletics or the *symposion*. Veiling was part of mystic initiation at certain sanctuaries, most notably Eleusis and Samothrace.<sup>134</sup> Certainly veiling was effective as a means of visually separating the initiate from ritual activities, thereby preserving the “mystery” of the cult. But veiling also served as a means of communicating the liminal status of the



7.14. Red-figure *oinochoe*, Meidias Painter, ca. 420–410 BCE, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Samuel G. Ward, 1875 (75.2.11), New York. ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

individual to others – as seen also in the Echinus relief (Figure 7.10), which depicts a purification ritual following childbirth.<sup>135</sup> Although the visual aspects of dress are most important in ritual contexts, other properties of dress are significant as well. At Athens, garments were perfumed for use during the Anthesteria (Figure 7.14), and the Skira (“Parasol”) festival required women to chew garlic, in order to avoid sex with their husbands.<sup>136</sup> Certainly ritual dress practices were widespread throughout the Greek world; our understanding is limited because of the nature of the evidence, which is heavily skewed toward Athens.

### *Panathenaia*

Dress was significant on multiple levels for the Panathenaia, the Athenian festival in honor of Athena as protectress of the city.<sup>137</sup> The annual festival (especially elaborate every four years) required the participation of “all Athenians” as well as noncitizen residents (*metics*), all of whom were marked by means of dress. Dress was also central to many of the rituals associated with the Panathenaia, which culminated with the dedication of a sacred *peplos* to the goddess.

Approximately nine months before the Panathenaia, during the *Chalkeia* festival, the priestess of Athena and other cult officials set up a loom for the ritual weaving of the Panathenaic *peplos*.<sup>138</sup> The wool was combed and spun by *parthenoi*, and the weaving was performed by adult women (*ergastinai*) together with two (or four) *arrephoroi*, aristocratic girls between the ages of seven and eleven who were selected on the basis of their good birth.<sup>139</sup> It has been suggested that the scene of woolworking on the *lekythos* by the Amasis painter in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 4.1) represents the ritual weaving of the Panathenaic *peplos*; certainly the representation of girls and women of different ages supports such an interpretation.<sup>140</sup> Although no pattern is discernible on the Amasis vase, the literary evidence indicates that the *peplos* was a figured textile woven in purple and yellow with images of the gigantomachy (a mythical battle between the gods and the giants).<sup>141</sup> The nine months required to weave the *peplos* corresponds to the normal period of human gestation and may have symbolized the birth of the goddess (or the infant Erichthonios, mythological ruler of Athens).<sup>142</sup>

Two months prior to the Panathenaia, the ancient olivewood cult statue of Athena Polias (“of the city”) was cleaned and adorned at the *Plynteria* and *Kallynteria*.<sup>143</sup> The *Praxiergidae* clan was charged with the administration of the rites.<sup>144</sup> At the *Plynteria*, the statue was undressed and washed, along with her *peplos*; several days later, at the *Kallynteria*, the statue was dressed again by a priestess called the *Kosmo*.

The presentation of a new *peplos* to Athena was the central event of the Panathenaic procession, in which the entire community participated (at least by proxy). Starting at the sacred gate in the Kerameikos, the procession traversed the heart of the city, through the Agora, to the base of the Acropolis. The spectacular nature of the procession is underscored by the fact that bleachers were set up along the Panathenaic Way: both the *peplos* and the participants in the procession were intended to be visible to onlookers. The evidence for the actual transport of the *peplos* is complicated, but at some point in the late fifth or fourth century BCE it was displayed as a sail on a type of ship-cart.<sup>145</sup> The transfer of the *peplos* to the responsible cult officials is depicted in the center of the east (Ionic) frieze of the Parthenon, which is conventionally interpreted as a representation of the Panathenaic procession.<sup>146</sup>

While the sacred *peplos* was certainly the focus of the Panathenaic procession, the dress of the participants in the ritual identified them according to their social and religious roles. The many cavalymen in the Parthenon frieze wear the garment typical of travelers, the *chlamys*. The *kanephoroi* (basket bearers) in the east frieze are depicted wearing their distinctive back-mantle, so that they are identifiable even without their baskets.<sup>147</sup> We know from literary sources that *kanephoroi* were shaded by parasols held by the daughters of metics;<sup>148</sup> just such a parasol is held by Eros in the east frieze.<sup>149</sup> Jenifer Neils

has noted a particular emphasis on the act of dressing in the Parthenon frieze: multiple figures adjust their garments in some way, calling attention to their dress. The significance of dress in the sculptural program of the Parthenon extended to the base of the statue of Athena Parthenos, which depicted the adornment of Pandora by the gods.<sup>150</sup>

Dress was important for other events associated with the Panathenaia, which included various athletic, rhapsodic, and musical contests.<sup>151</sup> The Panathenaic *amphorae* that held the olive oil awarded to the victors show athletes competing nude, with charioteers and *kitharodes* wearing long white *chitones*.<sup>152</sup> Pyrrhic dancing was performed by boys, youths, and men in the nude, holding heavy shields, as shown on red-figure vases and a fourth-century statue base in the Acropolis Museum.<sup>153</sup> Spectacular display of the physically fit male body was clearly the focus of the *Euandria*, a sort of male beauty contest, whose winners were adorned with red prize-fillets (Figure 7.15) and crowned with wreaths or a special spiked cap.<sup>154</sup> While these events created a sense of group solidarity and tribal identity in the emerging democracy,<sup>155</sup> ritual nudity in the context of the Panathenaia celebrated the ideal male body as central to the functioning of the *polis*.



7.15. Attic white-ground “bobbin,” Penthesilea Painter, ca. 460–450 BCE, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1928 (28.167), New York. ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

## DRESS AND THE LAW

Although dress practices were clearly an important means of maintaining social order in ancient Greece, we have little evidence for legal prescriptions or proscriptions for dress outside of the sacred sphere. At Athens, the sixth-century statesman Solon is credited with a series of laws concerning dress – though our primary source is Plutarch, who was himself accustomed to the strict regulations concerning civic dress in the Roman period.<sup>156</sup> On the other hand, the Attic orators provide some evidence for the legal parameters surrounding dress. According to Aeschines, Solon established a law by which adulterous women were not permitted to wear fine clothes or jewelry in public; transgressors were to be stripped and beaten, in order to humiliate them and make their lives “not worth living” (*Against Timarchus*, 183).<sup>157</sup> Thefts of garments seem to have been relatively common in the city of Athens, not only “stealthy takings” from private residences or public spaces such as baths and *gymnasia*, but also violent attacks in which the wearer would be stripped of his garment and severely beaten, for which the convicted attacker could be put to death.<sup>158</sup> Finally, Plutarch (*Solon*, 21.4–5) credits the statesman with a series of laws concerning dress practices in the context of the funeral: female mourners were not permitted to wear more than three *himatia*; none were allowed to lacerate their skin as a symbol of their bereavement; the corpse could not be buried in more than three *himatia*. Although such regulations were clearly intended to restrict ostentatious display on the part of the Athenian elite, they were especially directed at women, whose excessive behavior would have been considered particularly disruptive.<sup>159</sup>

## DEATH AND MOURNING

Given the profound association between women and dress, and women and death, in the Greek mindset, it should not surprise us that women’s dress practices were especially significant in the context of the funeral. Aside from the Solonian legislation, there is extensive literary, visual, and archaeological evidence for the central roles of both women and dress in mourning and burial.<sup>160</sup>

Certainly, every death is unique – as are the individual responses of the bereaved. But, as in all cultures, the performance of ritual helps to guide the deceased – and the survivors – through this final rite of passage. As a uniquely private, yet public, phenomenon, in which social relationships are being renegotiated both within the family and in the larger community, the funeral is an especially charged arena for the performance of identity. Dress is essential for the proper execution of this most profound life transition.



After death, the individual is no longer able to perform his or her identity as in life. Nevertheless, the survivors create an identity for the deceased, in part by dressing the corpse. This “transitional” identity reflects the role of the individual in the community; but it also demonstrates the needs and interests of the bereaved in the construction of the memory of the deceased.

The visual tradition of the rituals surrounding death is remarkably consistent from the Geometric through the Archaic and Classical periods, on painted vases deposited with the deceased as well as on terra cotta plaques fixed on the tomb itself.<sup>161</sup> On a fragmentary red-figure *loutrophoros* in Athens (Figure 7.16), the deceased woman reclines on an ornate couch covered with patterned textiles, her head resting on a striped pillow. Although most of her body is not visible as the vase is fragmentary, she appears to have been wound in a plain shroud with her head uncovered to reveal her carefully coiffed hair and an ornate metal crown,<sup>162</sup> perhaps an allusion to her “marriage” to death.<sup>163</sup> She is attended by an elderly Thracian slave woman, identifiable by her cropped red-



7.16. Attic red-figure *loutrophoros*, Painter of Bologna 228, early fifth century BCE, National Archaeological Museum 1170, Athens. Photo by Stephanos Stournaras ©Hellenic Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

dish hair and tattooed jowls.<sup>164</sup> The ideal facial features and elegant *chiton* worn by the woman facing the deceased may identify her as a family member rather than a slave or hired mourner. Her unbound hair indicates her mourning state, while her gesture recalls literary descriptions of tearing the hair and lacerating the cheeks in lamentations of the dead. As is conventional in funerary iconography, the female figures are shown closest to the deceased, while the male figures (not visible in this detail) maintain their distance from the polluting corpse.<sup>165</sup>

Other details of the dress of the dead are provided by the literary and archaeological sources.<sup>166</sup> On the first day following the death of an individual, the *prothesis* (laying out of the dead) was performed by the women of the household. As illustrated in Figure 7.16, the corpse was laid out on a funerary couch and the eyes and mouth



closed; chinstraps (*othonai*) were sometimes employed to prevent unsightly gaping of the mouth.<sup>167</sup> The body was bathed with water (preferably seawater) and anointed with scented oil.<sup>168</sup> Special purpose vessels, especially *loutrophoroi* (water carriers) and *lekythoi* (oil containers), typically decorated with funerary imagery, were later deposited with the deceased as material reminders of the performance of these rites.<sup>169</sup> The body was then dressed for burial. A wide range of funerary attire is attested, from plain white shrouds or winding cloths, to elaborate assemblages of garments, jewelry, wreaths, and crowns. It is often assumed that *parthenoi* who died before marriage were buried in bridal attire, but such a practice cannot be confirmed with certainty. Although complete garments do not survive, fragmentary textiles found in graves attest to the use of brightly colored and decorated textiles as funerary garments; likewise, dress fasteners, jewelry, and crowns suggest a degree of ostentatious display for the deceased. To what extent the dress of the dead reflected the dress practices of the living remains an open question: the presence (or absence) of specific articles of dress in funerary contexts cannot confirm (or deny) their use in life.

The dress practices of the bereaved were equally important in the context of the funeral: proper dress was a sign of respect for the deceased and ensured his or her proper transition to the afterlife. Hence, the dress practices of mourners were highly circumscribed – sometimes legally, as in the case of the Solonian legislation (p. 225). The dress of mourners receives special treatment on the series of white-ground *lekythoi* that become especially popular in Attica in the second quarter of the fifth century BCE.<sup>170</sup> While a few *lekythoi* depict the laying out of the dead, the majority by far emphasizes the roles of the bereaved, especially visiting the tomb of the deceased. On the name-vase by the Painter of Athens 1934 (Figure 7.17), two women approach a funerary stele adorned with red sashes: one (not visible in the photograph) brings a flat basket with more sashes; the other kneels in a gesture of mourning, rending her dark purple *himation* in distress. Her short hair may indicate servile status, or may reflect the tradition of cutting one's hair as a mark of bereavement (seen also on the



7.17. Attic white-ground *lekythos*, Painter of Athens 1934, ca. 450–400 BCE, National Archaeological Museum 1934, Athens. Photo by Giorgos Konstantinopoulos ©Hellenic Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.



7.18. Grave stele with Krito and Timarista, ca. 420–410 BCE, Archaeological Museum of Rhodes 12628. ©Alinari/Art Resource, NY.

figure of Krito in Figure 7.18), as indicated in the literary sources.<sup>171</sup> Although a broad range of colors is shown on the vases, most ancient writers agree that mourning dress should be “dark,” especially black and gray.<sup>172</sup> The convention of veiling the head and face with one’s garments as a means of concealing grief, well attested in the literary sources, nevertheless displays the mourning status of the individual.<sup>173</sup> The liminal status of the mourner ended with a ritual bath (or hand-washing), in order to rid the living of the pollution of the dead.<sup>174</sup>

The ancient Greeks, long dead, remain alive for us through their dress. Dress has a unique capacity to capture the spirit of the dead; indeed, the living are able to commune with the deceased through the sensory experience of dress, whether real or imagined. Peter Stallybrass, the Renaissance literary theorist and historian, has written movingly about his own experience of being overcome by grief while wearing the jacket of his good friend who had died:

I was inhabited by his presence, taken over. If I wore the jacket, Allon wore me. He was there in the wrinkles of the elbows, wrinkles which in the technical jargon of sewing are called ‘memory’; he was there in the stains at the very bottom of the jacket; he was there in the small of the armpits. Above all, he was there in the smell.

So I began to think about clothes. I read about clothes, I talked to friends about clothes. The magic of cloth, I came to believe, is that it receives us: receives our smells, our sweat, or shape even. And when our parents, our friends, our lovers die, the clothes in their closets still hang there, holding their gestures, both reassuring and terrifying, touching the living with the dead. [They] literally inhabit us through the “habits” which they bequeath.<sup>175</sup>

Anyone who has had the solemn task of cleaning out the closets and drawers of a loved one who has died knows the haunting connection we feel with the articles they have left behind. The Greeks must have felt this too: in their dedications of garments on behalf of the deceased, and the hand-woven textiles that remained in the *oikos*.

Although the garments of the Greeks no longer survive, we can reconstruct their dress practices from the artifacts, images, and texts that do – and imagine for ourselves the sensory experience of ancient Greek dress. Certainly, modern performances of ancient Greek drama in reconstructed costumes demonstrate the capacity of dress to transport us to another time and place; but our imagination of the entire sensory experience of dress allows us to transcend *culture*. The human universal of dress connects us in a profound way, not only to early Greek society generally, but to the individuals whose dress determined their means of being in the ancient world.

## CONCLUSION

Throughout this volume, I have argued for a phenomenological approach to the study of ancient Greek dress. Dress cannot be understood simply as a collection of types of garments and accessories. As an embodied social practice, dress must be considered in terms of its relationship with the body. Indeed, neither the body nor dress can be understood in isolation; each derives its meaning from the other. Dress is the medium through which the individual, biological body becomes a social body. Our understanding of ancient Greek dress is essential to our understanding of ancient Greek society.

Layers of dress on the body reflect in a profound way the construction of identities in ancient Greece. Modifications to the body may be more or less visible depending on their location on the body, and the spatial and social distance of the perceiver from the dressed individual. Temporary modifications to the body, such as bathing, hairdressing, depilation, and the use of cosmetics and perfumes, were reserved for the Greek elite, whose repeated performance of such dress behaviors reaffirmed their ethnic, class, and gender identities. Conversely, permanent modifications to the body, such as tattooing and circumcision, permanently marked foreigners as outsiders. If we consider the sensory experiences of temporary and permanent modifications to the body, it is clear that the pleasures associated with bathing and anointing the body with scented oils are in sharp contrast to the pain associated with cutting and mutilating the flesh: certainly the experience of such procedures would have had a profound effect on the individual.

Likewise, garments would have had a powerful effect on the wearer as well as others within the dress community. From tightly wound swaddling cloths and breast-bands to voluminous linen *chitones* and elegantly draped *himatia*, garments generated a broad range of sensory experiences. While ideal women were covered from head to feet, their garments were not necessarily restrictive: the multiple layers allowed for personal display in terms of the colors, surface decoration, and quality of the cloth; and women controlled the manipulation of their garments to reveal or conceal the head and upper and lower extremities. The relatively plain men's *himation* nevertheless communicated elite status in its proper draping and in the display of the tanned, physically fit torso, arms, and legs. Conversely, constructed garments with set sleeves and bifurcated

trousers did not allow for such manipulations and were identified as barbarian dress. Likewise, non-elite garments would have been easily identifiable as such on the basis of their coarse weave or ragged condition.

Accessories were very much the purview of the Greek elite, especially women. While some articles such as dress fasteners served a practical purpose, they nevertheless provided myriad opportunities for personal display. Many of these objects were made of precious materials such as gold, silver, ivory, and gemstones, reflecting the wealth of the wearer (rather, of her family). Because many accessories were worn around the head and neck, including diadems and crowns, earrings, and necklaces, they were highly visible and brought the viewer's attention to the wearer's face. A woman wearing these articles would have been reminded of their presence by their weight and movement relative to the body. Her choice to display or conceal such objects by means of veiling reflects a degree of personal agency. Other accessories such as footwear may have been less visible but were nevertheless highly significant in terms of feminine sexuality – both in marriage and in the context of the symposion. Finally, some exotic imports such as parasols and fans communicated elite status, even – or perhaps especially – when carried by an attendant.

Nudity is itself a form of dress, and indeed no body is ever completely “undressed.” Hairstyling, depilation, cosmetics, tanning, even diet and exercise are all dress behaviors with visible effects on the body whether or not the individual is wearing garments. But in fact, much of the scholarship on “nudity” in ancient Greece refers to partially draped figures, whose garments should be understood as “in transit.” I argue that the discourse surrounding the undressed body must move away from arguments surrounding identification and nomenclature (naked or nude? ideal or heroic?) and consider the contextual and situational aspects of undress. The meanings attached to nudity are directly tied to the circumstances in which the body becomes undressed. If the dressed individual removes his (or her) own garments, the action might be interpreted as personal display. On the other hand, if the individual is deprived of her garments by another individual, the act generally connotes sexual assault.

The contextual meanings of dress are underscored in the final chapter, which follows the dressed individual from the cradle to the grave in various social contexts, both public and private. Dress is central to many rituals associated with coming of age, marriage, and childbirth, and plays important roles in religion. Interestingly, dress retains its significance even in death: the social identity of the deceased is created by the bereaved by bathing and anointing the corpse, and providing it with garments and accessories. These practices provide us with the most direct evidence for the dressed individual, allowing us to appreciate the sensory experience of garments and jewelry through preserved textiles and artifacts. Such a phenomenological approach to dress allows

unique access to the individual in ancient Greek society, which is otherwise elusive to us.

Ancient Greek dress is a vast topic, beyond the scope of a single volume. Although I have attempted a synthetic study, it is by no means a definitive one. Indeed, I very much hope that the present volume will serve as a catalyst for further research.



## NOTES

### INTRODUCTION

- 1 See A. Borrell, "Ancient Female Costume: From Silent Cinema to Hollywood Glamour," in M. Gleba et al., eds., *Dressing the Past* (Oxbow, 2008), 158–165, which borrows heavily from L. Llewellyn-Jones, "The Fashioning of Delilah: Costume Design, Historicism and Fantasy in Cecil B. DeMille's *Samson and Delilah* (1949)," in L. Cleland, et al., eds., *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World* (Oxford, 2005), 14–29.
- 2 H. Koda, *Goddess: The Classical Mode* (New York, 2003). The fashion house Gucci sponsored the exhibition.
- 3 Translations are adapted from the Loeb editions, except where noted. Published by Harvard University Press, the Loeb Classical Library is the standard reference with English translations facing the original Greek and Latin texts.
- 4 Homeric dress has been discussed extensively elsewhere. See, in particular, N. Yamagata, "Clothing and Identity in Homer: The Case of Penelope's Web," *Mnemosyne* 58.4 (2005): 539–546; H. van Wees, "Clothes, Class and Gender in Homer," in D. L. Cairns, ed., *Body Language in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Swansea, 2005), 1–36; M. J. Bennett, *Belted Heroes and Bound Women: The Myth of the Homeric Warrior-King* (Lanham, MD, 1997); E. Block, "Clothing Makes the Man: A Pattern in the *Odyssey*," *TAPA* 115 (1985): 1–11; S. Marinatos, *Kleidung, Haar- und Bartracht* (= *Archaeologia Homerica*, Bd. 1, Kapitel A-B) (Göttingen, 1967); H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* (London, 1950).
- 5 Though recent scientific analysis has restored the colorful appearance of ancient sculpture; see [Chapter 4](#), pp. 93–95.
- 6 Large-scale wall paintings do not survive from the Archaic and Classical periods as they do from the Hellenistic, especially in Macedonia. A few small-scale paintings on wooden panels have been recovered – for example, the well-known polychromed plaques from Pitsà in the National Archaeological Museum at Athens.
- 7 G. Ferrari, "Myth and Genre on Athenian Vases," *CLAnt* 22.1 (2003) 37–54.
- 8 As argued by S. Lewis, *The Athenian Woman: An Iconographic Handbook* (London and New York, 2002). The implications for dress are especially relevant in the case of the so-called *perizoma* vases; see [Chapter 4](#), p. 98.
- 9 V. Jeammet, "Le costume grec à travers les figurines en terre cuite: reflet d'une société démocratique?" in F. Chausson and H. Inglebert, eds., *Costume et société dans l'Antiquité et le haut Moyen Age* (Paris, 2003), 25–35.
- 10 See especially L. M. Stone, *Costume in Aristophanic Comedy* (Salem, NH, 1980). For the difficulties of using Comedy as evidence for daily life, see V. Ehrenberg, *The People of Aristophanes*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1951), 7–13.
- 11 See L. Cleland, *The Brauron Clothing Catalogues: Text, Analysis, Glossary, and Translation* (Oxford, 2005); T. Linders, *Studies in the Treasure Records of Artemis Brauronia Found in Athens* (Stockholm, 1972).
- 12 For an excellent overview of archaeological approaches to dress, see M. L. S. Sørensen, *Gender Archaeology* (Oxford, 2000), 124–143.
- 13 The French scholar Yvette Morizot laments: "Pour l'instant, quelque envie que l'on en ait, il n'est pas possible d'écrire une véritable archéologie du costume grec" ("A propos de la représentation sculptée des vêtements dans l'art grec," *RÉA* 76 [1974] 131).
- 14 We know from the literary and epigraphic sources (such as the Brauronion clothing

catalogues) that valuable textiles were also dedicated in sanctuaries, but they have not survived archaeologically.

#### CHAPTER 1: GREEK DRESS AND MODERN DRESS THEORY

- 1 Although the historiographic essay on Greek and Roman dress by Florence Gherchanoc and Valérie Huet covers much of the same material as the present study, it differs in both format and scope. See F. Gherchanoc and V. Huet, “S’habiller et se déshabiller en Grèce et à Rome,” *RHist* 309 (2007): 3–30.
- 2 For this reason, I have generally avoided reference to Hellenistic and Roman texts; when I do cite them, I underscore their later date.
- 3 For copyists’ “mistakes” in the rendering of Greek garments, see M. Bieber, *Ancient Copies* (New York, 1977).
- 4 This section is derived in part from my dissertation. Short overviews of early modern scholarship also appear in L. J. Roccas, *Ancient Greek Costume: An Annotated Bibliography 1784–2005* (Jefferson, NC, 2006), 3–16 (though see my review in the *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* [2007.01.23]); G. Losfeld, *Essai sur le costume grec* (Paris, 1991), 12–15.
- 5 L. de Baiïf, *De re vestitaria libellus, ex Bayfio excerptus: addita vulgaris linguae interpretatione, in adulescentuloru gratiam atq[ue] utilitatem*<sup>2</sup> (Paris, 1535).
- 6 A. Rubens, *De re vestitaria veterum praecipue de lato clavo libri duo* (Antwerp, 1665). Rubens also contributed an article entitled “De re vestitaria veterum” to the *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum* (Leiden, 1697), which also included “De re vestitaria” by Octavius Ferrarius (1518–1586), written more than a century before.
- 7 N. de Grummond, “The Study of Classical Costume by Philip, Albert and Peter Paul Rubens,” *Ringling Museum of Art Journal* 1 (Sarasota, FL, 1983), 85.
- 8 B. de Montfaucon, *Antiquity Explained, and Represented in, Sculptures*, trans. D. Humphreys (London, 1721–1722), suppl. III, 259. The original French edition, *L’antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*, appeared in Paris in 1719. A facsimile of the English translation was published in New York in 1976.
- 9 J. J. Winckelmann, *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture*, trans. E. Heyer and R. C. Norton (La Salle, IL, 1987), 31.
- 10 J. J. Winckelmann, *The History of Ancient Art*, trans. G. H. Lodge (Boston, 1880).
- 11 For the identification of Doric and Ionic dress in Herodotus 5.87–89, see [Chapter 4](#), pp. 100–106.
- 12 M.-F. Dandré-Bardon, *Costume des Anciens Peuples, à l’usage des artistes*, New ed. (Paris, 1784–1786). The first edition was published in 1772. Dandré-Bardon’s *Costume des Anciens Peuples* is the earliest entry in Roccas’s bibliography, *Ancient Greek Costume*.
- 13 A. C. P. Comte de Caylus, *Tableaux tirés de l’Iliade, de l’Odyssée d’Homère et de l’Eneide de Virgile; avec des observations générales sur le Costume* (Paris, 1757).
- 14 A. C. Lens, *Le costume; ou, Essai sur les habillements et les usages de plusieurs peuples de l’antiquité, prouvé par les monuments* (Liège, 1776). A new revised edition with the title *Le Costume des peuples de l’antiquité prouvé par les monuments* was published in Dresden in 1785.
- 15 D. Watkin, *Thomas Hope 1769–1831 and the Neo-Classical Idea* (London, 1968), 220. See also A. Ribeiro, “Fashion à l’Antique: Thomas Hope and Regency Dress,” in D. Watkin and P. Hewat-Jaborr, eds., *Thomas Hope: Regency Designer* (New Haven, 2008), 77–89.
- 16 T. Hope, *Costume of the Ancients* (London, 1812), 17. Although most sources cite 1812 as the date of the first edition, *Costume of the Ancients* was originally published in 1809. Several later editions appeared over the next century and a half, and an unabridged republication of the 1812 edition was printed in New York in 1962, with the title *Costumes of the Greeks and Romans*.
- 17 Hope, *Costume of the Ancients*, 18.  
 Hope’s text, while authoritative in tone, is entirely lacking in references to either ancient sources or earlier scholarship. Although it has been suggested that he knew Caylus’s publication of 1757 (Watkin, *Thomas Hope 1769–1831 and the Neo-Classical Idea*, 219), nowhere does Hope make explicit reference to this work. *Costume of the Ancients* appears to have been derived primarily from the author’s personal observations of various (poorly documented) monuments, and in particular vases from his own collection. Figures extracted from these objects are reproduced

in over 700 plates, drawn and sometimes also engraved by the author.

- 18 M.M. Evans, *Chapters on Greek Dress* (London, 1893) 1.

A curious by-product of Hope's publication is a work attributed to his friend George Bryan (Beau) Brummell (1778–1840) entitled *Male and Female Costume: Grecian and Roman Costume, British Costume from the Roman Invasion until 1822 and the Principles of Costume Applied to the Improved Dress of the Present Day*. The manuscript for this work (dated 1822) remained unpublished when it was discovered over a century later in a New York bookstore by Eleanor Parker, who edited and published the volume (Garden City, NY, 1932). Brummell's book is a compilation of texts and plates borrowed from other scholars; the sections on Greek and Roman costume are lifted directly from Hope's *Costume of the Ancients*, with certain modifications, mostly in terms of organization.

Hope's plates were likewise appropriated by several other authors in their own publications on ancient dress, including H. Weiss, *Kostümkunde. Handbuch der Geschichte der Tracht, des Baues und des Geräthes der Völker der Alterthums* (Stuttgart, 1860), and J. M. Smith, *Ancient Greek Female Costume* (London, 1882).

- 19 C. A. Böttiger, *Über den Raub der Cassandra auf einem alten Gefässe von gebrannter Erde* (Weimar, 1794), 60, 61, n. 60.
- 20 The terms *doriazein* and *ionezein* are derived from a scholiast on Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus* (II, 10) cited by Friedrich Sylburg in his commentary.
- 21 K. O. Müller, *Geschichte hellenischer Stämme und Städte II–III* (= *Die Dorier*) (Breslau, 1820–1824). An English translation appeared as *History and Antiquities of the Doric Race*,<sup>2</sup> trans. H. Tufnell (London, 1839).
- 22 F. Studniczka, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der altgriechischen Tracht* (Vienna, 1886).
- 23 Studniczka, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der altgriechischen Tracht*, VI.
- 24 For an expanded discussion of this issue, see M. M. Lee, "The Ancient Greek *Peplos* and the 'Dorian Question,'" in A. A. Donohue and M. D. Fullerton, eds., *Ancient Art and Its Historiography* (Cambridge, 2003), 118–147.
- 25 M. M. Evans, *Chapters on Greek Dress* (London, 1893), and E. B. Abrahams, *Greek Dress: A Study of the Costumes Worn in Ancient Greece, from*

*Pre-Hellenic Times to the Hellenistic Age* (London, 1908); reprinted together in M. Johnson, ed., *Ancient Greek Dress* (Chicago, 1965).

- 26 A. W. Barker, "A Classification of the Chitons Worn by Greek Women as Shown in Works of Art," PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1923. A condensed and more easily accessible version of Barker's arguments is his "Domestic Costumes of the Athenian Woman in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.," *AJA* 26 (1922): 410–425.
- 27 Barker, "A Classification of the Chitons Worn by Greek Women as Shown in Works of Art," 1–3.
- 28 See Chapter 4, n. 3.
- 29 L. Heuzey, *Historie du costume antique, d'après des études sur le modèle vivant* (Paris, 1922).
- 30 For Heuzey's contribution to the study of antique drapery (not garments, per se), see G. Doy, *Drapery: Classicism and Barbarism in Visual Culture* (London, 2002) 36–41.
- The use of live models to demonstrate the appearance of ancient dress was undertaken earlier by G. B. Brown, "How Greek Women Dressed," *Burlington Magazine* 8.33 (December 1905): 155–161, 237–245. Likewise, Abrahams recreated the garments worn by the *korai* to discover various mistakes on the part of the sculptors (*Greek Dress*, 89–95, and plate S, fig. 34a and b).
- 31 M. Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung* (Berlin, 1928) and *Entwicklungsgeschichte der griechischen Tracht* (Berlin, 1967).
- 32 For an overview of the state of scholarship on ancient dress in the early 1980s, see B. S. Ridgway, "The Fashion of the Elgin Kore," *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984): 29–58.
- 33 B. S. Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton, NJ, 1970), 8.
- 34 Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture*, 9.
- 35 Scholarly interest in textiles generally increased in the 1970s, especially among anthropologists, and contributed to the development of dress studies. See, for example, A. B. Weiner and J. Schneider, eds., *Cloth and Human Experience* (Washington, DC, 1989).
- 36 E. Gullberg, and P. Åström, *The Thread of Ariadne: A Study of Ancient Greek Dress* (= *SIMA* 21) (Göteborg, 1970). For additions and corrections, see Y. Morizot, "A propos de la représentation sculptée des vêtements dans l'art grec," *RÉA* 76 (1974): 117–132.

- 37 A. Pekridou-Gorecki, *Mode im antiken Griechenland: Textile Fertigung und Kleidung* (Munich, 1989).
- 38 E. J. W. Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles: The Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages with Special Reference to the Aegean* (Princeton, NJ, 1991). While this study focuses on the early evidence for textile production, most techniques remained largely unchanged throughout the historic period in Greece.
- 39 See also her book *Women's Work, the First 20,000 Years: Women, Cloth, and Society in Early Times* (New York, 1994).
- 40 For current research, see <http://ctr.hum.ku.dk>. While the center has a global perspective, and a special focus on Scandinavia, a few publications have appeared on Greek textiles of the historic period, in particular various contributions in C. Gillis and M.-L. B. Nosch, eds., *Ancient Textiles: Production, Craft and Society* (Oxford, 2007). The recent publication on textiles and dress in the Aegean Bronze Age contains a few papers relevant to the current study; see especially the chapters by Van Damme and Burke in M.-L. B. Nosch, and R. Laffineur, eds., *Kosmos: Jewellery, Adornment and Textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age* (= *Aegaeum* 33) (Leuven, 2012).
- 41 A. G. Geddes, "Rags and Riches: The Costume of Athenian Men in the Fifth Century," *CQ* 37 (1987): 307–331. For the *chiton* and *himation*, see Chapter 4, pp. 106–110 and 113–116.
- 42 G. Losfeld, *L'art grec et le draperie pure* (Paris, 1999); idem, *L'art grec et le vêtement* (Paris, 1994); idem, *Essai sur le costume grec*.
- 43 L. Llewellyn-Jones, ed., *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World* (London, 2002); L. Cleland, et al., eds., *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World* (Oxford, 2005).
- 44 F. Gherchanoc and V. Huet, eds., *S'habiller, se déshabiller dans les mondes anciens*. (= *Mètis* n.s. 6) (2008); L. Bodiou et al., eds., *Parures et artifices: le corps exposé dans l'Antiquité* (Paris, 2011); F. Gherchanoc and V. Huet, eds., *Vêtements antiques: S'; habiller, se déshabiller dans les mondes anciens* (Arles, 2012).
- 45 L. Cleland, et al., *Greek and Roman Dress from A to Z* (London, 2007).
- 46 L. Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite's Tortoise: The Veiled Woman of Ancient Greece* (Swansea, 2003). See my review: *AJA* 109 (2005): 117–119.
- 47 Veblen: Geddes, "Rags and Riches"; H. Mills, "Greek Clothing Regulations: Sacred and Profane?" *ZPE* 55 (1984) 255–265; Barthes: Cleland, *The Brauron Clothing Catalogues*, 77–82.
- The contributions of Veblen and Barthes to dress theory are discussed below, p. 20.
- 48 C. S. Colburn and M. K. Heyn, eds., *Reading a Dynamic Canvas: Adornment in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Newcastle, 2008). The term *adornment* is itself problematic.
- 49 The foremost Greek scholar of dress is I. Papantoniou, a stage-costume designer by training, who founded the celebrated Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation and later headed the National Archive of Greek Traditional Dress. While her sweeping survey, *Greek Dress: From Ancient Times to the Early Twentieth Century*, trans. D. A. Hardy (Athens, 2000), emphasizes regional styles in Greek dress from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it includes short chapters on ancient dress from the prehistoric through the Byzantine periods, with excellent illustrations.
- The traditional dress of modern Greece has been well documented and analyzed by Linda Welters; see most recently her contribution to the *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion*, vol. 9 (Oxford, 2010), 432–441.
- 50 It is worth noting that whereas many of the early scholars of ancient Greek dress were men (Studniczka, Heuzey), by the early twentieth century most male scholars avoided the topic. At the same time, female scholars such as Abrahams, Bieber, and Elderkin became increasingly prolific in their publications, further corroborating the feminine connotations of dress.
- 51 Such attitudes are certainly not limited to classicists. See especially E. Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*, rev. ed. (London, 2003), 228–247; also L. Negrin, "The Self as Image: A Critical Appraisal of Postmodern Theories of Fashion," *Theory, Culture & Society* 16.3 (1999): 99–118; K. Hanson, "Dressing Down Dressing Up: The Philosophic Fear of Fashion," *Hypatia* 5.2 (1990): 107–121; K. Silverman, "Fragments of a Fashionable Discourse," in T. Modleski, ed., *Studies in Entertainment: Critical Approaches to Mass Culture* (Bloomington, IN, 1986), 139–152, esp. 149.
- 52 Especially *Etruscan Dress* (originally published in 1975) and *The World of Roman Costume*,

- co-edited with J. L. Sebesta (published in 2001).
- 53 The groundbreaking study is C. Bérard, et al., *A City of Images: Iconography and Society in Ancient Greece*, trans. D. Lyons (Princeton, NJ, 1989) (orig. publ. as *La cité des images: religion et société en Grèce antique* [Paris, 1984]). For a good introduction to such approaches, see M. Beard, “Adopting an Approach,” in R. Rasmussen and N. Spivey, eds., *Looking at Greek Vases* (Cambridge, 1991), 12–35.
- 54 The foremost journal in the field is *Fashion Theory*, published in Oxford, England, by Berg, whose series *Dress, Body, Culture* includes many important monographs and edited volumes. The ten-volume *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Costume* (Oxford, 2010), edited by J. B. Eicher, is now the authoritative reference in the field.
- 55 This section is not comprehensive by any means, but a short overview of previous scholarship on dress most relevant to the present study.
- For a collection of primary texts, see K. K. P. Johnson, et al., eds., *Fashion Foundations: Early Writings on Fashion and Dress* (Oxford, 2003). For commentary on some of the more influential writers on dress, see M. Carter, *Fashion Classics from Carlyle to Barthes* (Oxford, 2003).
- 56 For a short overview of the early anthropological scholarship on dress, see J. B. Eicher and M. E. Roach-Higgins, “Definition and Classification of Dress: Implication for Analysis of Gender Roles,” in R. Barnes and J. B. Eicher, eds., *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Contexts* (Oxford, 1992), 8–12.
- 57 T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Oxford, 2007).
- Excerpts and full references for both texts in Johnson, et al., eds., *Fashion Foundations*, 129–136.
- 58 See Carter, *Fashion Classics from Carlyle to Barthes*, 41–58.
- 59 Attempts to apply Veblen’s theories surrounding dress to the ancient Greek world (see earlier) have proved unsuccessful in large part because ancient Greece was not a capitalist society (and Greek dress was therefore not *fashion*; discussed later). Nevertheless, the notion of *uniformity* has proved useful, especially for men’s dress in classical Athens. For *uniformity*, see pp. 29–30; for uniformity in classical Athens, see [Chapter 4](#), p. 109 and p. 115.
- 60 R. Barthes, *The Fashion System*, trans. M. Ward and R. Howard (Berkeley, CA, 1990). For discussion, see especially Carter, *Fashion Classics from Carlyle to Barthes*, 143–163.
- Barthes was not the first to apply a structural-linguistic approach to dress. Already in the 1930s, the work of P. Bogatyrev was profoundly influenced by the Prague School; his now classic study of the traditional Slovak dress is *The Functions of Folk Costume in Moravian Slovakia*, trans. R. G. Crum (The Hague, 1971).
- 61 Semiotician M. Gottdeiner estimates that Barthes’s *System* “can generate a *minimum* [his emphasis] of at least 262,144 ways of differentiating articles of clothing within the same system” (“Fashion,” in T. Sebeok, ed., *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Semiotics* [= *Approaches to Semiotics* 73; Berlin, 1986], 252). Nevertheless, “Barthes folly” has inspired similar attempts to decipher the messages of ancient garments, most recently Cleland, “The Semiosis of Description.”
- Barthes’s influence persists most strongly in France, in particular with the work of Y. Delaporte. See especially Y. Delaporte, “Communication et signification dans les costumes populaires,” *Semiotica* 26.1–2 (1979): 65–79; idem, “Le signe vestimentaire,” *L’Homme* 20.3 (1980): 109–142; and the special volume of *L’Ethnographie* 92–94 (1984) entitled “Vêtement et Sociétés,” with seminal articles by Delaporte (“Perspectives méthodologiques et théoriques dans l’étude du vêtement,” pp. 33–57) and the *Groupe de travail sur le vêtement* (“Un essai de système descriptif du vêtement,” 363–373), of which Delaporte was a member. Although the francophone scholarship overlaps in certain ways with the theoretical methods developed by American scholars, especially J. B. Eicher and M. E. Roach-Higgins (discussed later), it is unclear to what degree American scholars were influenced by the French.
- 62 Most earlier scholars discussed dress in the context of other subjects. For example, Veblen’s primary interest was economics, and Barthes used fashion as a means of testing his theory of semiotics.



- 63 M. E. Roach and J. B. Eicher, "The Language of Personal Adornment," in Cordwell and Schwarz, eds., *The Fabrics of Culture*, 7–22.  
Roach and Eicher later revise their definition of "adornment."
- 64 A. Lurie, *The Language of Clothes* (New York, 1981).
- 65 Lurie, *The Language of Clothes*, 4.
- 66 G. McCracken, "Clothing as Language: An Object Lesson in the Study of the Expressive Properties of Material Culture," in B. Reynolds and M. A. Stott, eds., *Material Anthropology: Contemporary Approaches to Material Culture* (Lanham, MD, 1987), 103–128.  
See also the much more technical critique by W. Enninger, "The Design Features of Clothing Codes: The Functions of Clothing Displays in Interaction," *Kodikas/Code* 8.1–2 (1985): 81–110.
- 67 McCracken, "Clothing as Language," 120.
- 68 McCracken, "Clothing as Language," 121.
- 69 The article "Dress and Identity" (with Roach-Higgins as first author) was originally published in the *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 10.4 (1992): 1–8; a slightly shortened version appears with the same title in M. E. Roach-Higgins, et al., eds., *Dress and Identity* (New York, 1995), 7–18. All citations here refer to the original article. Similar ideas are also set out in "Definition and Classification of Dress: Implications for analysis of gender roles," (with Eicher as first author) in R. Barnes and J. B. Eicher, eds., *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Contexts* (Oxford, 1992), 8–28.
- 70 "Dress and Identity," 1.
- 71 "Definition and Classification of Dress," 13.
- 72 "Dress and Identity," 3.
- 73 Most consider *fashion* a product of capitalism and therefore not applicable to ancient Greece: "Before the beginnings of mercantile capitalism and the growth of cities in medieval Europe, most costume historians have agreed that fashion as we understand it hardly existed.... It may also be that a view of the clothing of Greek and Roman antiquity as static is the outgrowth of a now rather out-moded vision of this 'ancient' world and its culture as generally harmonious and stable. This Victorian notion of classical antiquity as some sort of ideal perhaps has lingered on in costume history after its replacement elsewhere by more sophisticated and more relativistic approaches" (Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*, 16).
- I. Turnau has argued for the importance of studying long-term variations in dress as opposed to the short-term changes characteristic of fashion ("La mode et le vêtement: variabilité et longue durée," *Bulletin du centre international d'étude des textiles anciens* 51–52 [1980]: 27–35).
- 74 "Dress and Identity," 1.
- 75 The table appears in Eicher and Roach-Higgins's publications cited earlier, as well as J. B. Eicher, et al, *The Visible Self: Global Perspectives on Dress, Culture and Society* (New York, 2008), 5.
- 76 This is particularly true for Greek garments, which are draped rather than cut and sewn. As noted by F. Cousin, "The characteristic feature of draped garments is the absence of the body before the process of dressing begins, as though they were two separate parts of an inseparable whole. Nevertheless, the purpose of the fabric is associated with the characteristics of the body. Paradoxically, when the body is covered, the fabric sculpts it through the play of the folds, marrying forms or creating new volumes, introducing a more intimate, somewhat more sensual relationship between the body and the fabric" ("Forms in Progress: From Fabric to Body," in I. Papantoniou, ed., *Ptychoseis = Folds + Pleats: Drapery from Ancient Greek Dress to 21st-Century Fashion* [Athens, 2004], 36). See The Body and Dress, this chapter, on dress as an embodied social practice.
- 77 For an expanded discussion of the sensory aspects of dress, see P. Corrigan, *The Dressed Society: Clothing, the Body and Some Meanings of the World* (London 2008), 3–7.
- 78 G. P. Stone, "Appearance and the Self," in M. E. Roach and J. B. Eicher, eds., *Dress, Adornment, and the Social Order* (New York, 1965) 222–223 (originally published in A. M. Rose, ed., *Human Behavior and Social Processes: An Interactionist Approach* [Boston, 1962], 93.)
- 79 E. Goffman, "Gender Display," *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication* 3.2 (1976): 69–77; expanded and illustrated for the nonacademic reader: *Gender Advertisements* (London, 1979).
- 80 For a synthetic overview of the role of dress in the reproduction of society, especially social constructions of class and gender, see M.



- Barnard, *Fashion as Communication*<sup>2</sup> (London, 2002), 102–126.
- Surprisingly, Pierre Bourdieu has little to say about dress in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. R. Nice (London, 1986), 200–202.
- 81 See, in particular, Barnard, *Fashion as Communication*<sup>2</sup>, 29–33; 80–100; C. Breward, “Cultures, Identities, Histories: Fashioning a Cultural Approach to Dress,” *Fashion Theory* 2.4 (1998): 301–313, esp. pp. 306–310.
- 82 F. Davis, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity* (Chicago, 1992), 8–10. On the other hand, the meanings attached to uniforms, for example, are relatively unambiguous.
- 83 N. Joseph, *Uniforms and Nonuniforms: Communication through Clothing* (New York, 1986). Compare Eicher’s analysis of dress relative to the “public, private and secret” self: J. B. Eicher, “Dress, Gender and the Public Display of Skin,” in J. Entwistle and E. Wilson, eds., *Body Dressing* (Oxford, 2001), 233–252.
- 84 A. Ribeiro, “Re-Fashioning Art: Some Visual Approaches to the Study of the History of Dress,” *Fashion Theory* 2 (1998): 318.
- 85 A. Hollander, *Seeing through Clothes* (New York, 1978), xii.
- 86 I am thinking specifically of G. Vicary’s excellent article “Visual Art as Social Data: the Renaissance Codpiece,” published in *Cultural Anthropology* 4 (1989): 3–25. Other early art historical studies on dress appeared such journals as the *Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club*.
- 87 Ribeiro, “Re-Fashioning Art,” 316–317. Ribeiro condemns the study of dress divorced from its historical context: “too many articles, it must be said, are ponderous and often unreadable critiques of the bizarre and the banal, masquerading as research” (318).
- 88 Ribeiro, “Re-Fashioning Art,” 321. Further discussion in the section The Messages of Dress.
- 89 H. M. Wobst, “Stylistic Behavior and Information Exchange,” in C. E. Cleland, ed., *For the Director: Research Essays in Honor of James B. Griffin* (Ann Arbor, 1977), 317–342.
- 90 Compare the properties of dress in the classification system of Roach-Higgins and Eicher (Table 1.1).
- 91 Wobst, “Stylistic Behavior and Information Exchange,” 326–327.
- 92 Wobst, “Stylistic Behavior and Information Exchange,” 331–335. Compare Joseph’s conception of dress as a series of layers of signs: p. 24.
- 93 J. A. Voss and R. L. Young, “Style and the Self,” in C. Carr and J. E. Neitzel, eds., *Style, Society, and Person: Archaeological and Ethnological Perspectives* (New York, 1995), 82–85.
- 94 I. Hodder, *The Present Past: An Introduction to Anthropology for Archaeologists* (London, 1982), 192.
- 95 M. B. Schaffer, *The Material Life of Human Beings: Artifacts, Behavior, and Communication* (London, 1999), especially Chapter 3.
- 96 Compare Roach-Higgins and Eicher, Definitions of Dress.
- 97 Schaffer, *The Material Life of Human Beings*, 34–42.
- 98 Schaffer, *The Material Life of Human Beings*, 42–43. The contextual aspect of dress is essential to the present study; see Chapter 7 this volume.
- 99 See especially the work of Lynn Meskell, in particular “The Somatization of Archaeology: Institutions, Discourses, Corporeality,” *Nonvegan Archaeological Review* 29.1 (1996): 1–16; and “The Irresistible Body and the Seduction of Archaeology,” in D. Montserrat, ed., *Changing Bodies, Changing Meanings: Studies on the Human Body in Antiquity* (London, 1998), 139–161.
- 100 M. L. S. Sørensen, *Gender Archaeology* (Oxford, 2000), Chapter 7; *eadem*, “Reading Dress: The Construction of Social Categories and Identities in Bronze Age Europe,” *Journal of European Archaeology* 5 (1997): 93–114.
- 101 Davis argues that cultural ambivalence surrounding social identities is the driving force behind fashion (*Fashion, Culture, and Identity*, esp. pp. 21–29).
- 102 Peter Corrigan’s “dimensions of dress” include (but may not be limited to) class, gender, occasion, religion, time, beauty, season, occupation, mode of circulation, comfort, age, eroticism, health, ethnicity, location, power, performance, and economics (*The Dressed Society*, 162).
- In my discussions of each category, I have deliberately selected examples from contemporary Euro-American dress that will be familiar to most readers.

- 103 It has been argued that “gender was probably the most important organizing principle for Greek society, both on the level of everyday life and on the level of metaphor” (L. Foxhall, “Pandora Unbound: A Feminist Critique of Foucault’s *History of Sexuality*,” in A. Cornwall and N. Lindisfarne, eds., *Dislocating Masculinity: Comparative Ethnographies* [London, 1994], 145).
- 104 This approach is sometimes referred to as “add women and stir.”
- In addition, dress is often implicated in discussions surrounding gender equality, as illustrated by the (in)famous dress adopted by nineteenth-century suffragist Amelia Bloomer.
- 105 M. E. Roach, “The Social Symbolism of Women’s Dress,” in Cordwell and Schwarz, eds., *The Fabrics of Culture*, 415–422.
- 106 Eicher and Roach-Higgins, “Definition and Classification of Dress,” 16–21.
- 107 See especially J. Butler, *Undoing Gender* (New York, 2004), 213–218.
- 108 M. Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (New York, 1992); C. Griggs, *S/he: Changing Sex and Changing Clothes* (Oxford, 1998); C. Suthrell, *Unzipping Gender: Sex, Cross-Dressing and Culture* (Oxford, 2004).
- 109 For some immigrant and other minority groups in the United States, coming-of-age dress serves as an important means of constructing ethnicity as well as gender and age. See A. Lynch, *Dress, Gender and Cultural Change: Asian American and African American Rites of Passage* (Oxford, 1999).
- 110 I. G. Klepp and A. Storm-Mathisen, “Reading Fashion as Age: Teenage Girls’ and Grown Women’s Accounts of Clothing as Body and Social Status,” *Fashion Theory* 9.3 (2005): 339.
- 111 G. Bush and P. London, “On the Disappearance of Knickers: Hypotheses for the Functional Analysis of the Psychology of Clothing,” in Roach and Eicher, eds., *Dress, Adornment, and the Social Order*, 64–72.
- 112 D. T. Cook and S. B. Kaiser, “Betwixt and Between: Age Ambiguity and the Sexualization of the Female Consuming Subject,” *Journal of Consumer Culture* 4.2 (2004): 203–227.
- 113 A. Lynch, M. E. Radina, M. C. Stalp, “Growing Old and Dressing (Dis)Gracefully,” in D. C. Johnson and H. B. Foster, eds., *Dress Sense: Emotional and Sensory Experiences of the Body and Clothes* (Oxford, 2007), 144–155.
- 114 J. Craik, *Uniforms Exposed: From Conformity to Transgression* (Oxford, 2005); Joseph, *Uniforms and Nonuniforms*.
- 115 As argued by art historian Anne Hollander in *Sex and Suits: The Evolution of Modern Dress* (New York, 1994).
- 116 The scholarship on “power dressing” is extensive. See, for example, multiple essays in K. K. P. Johnson and S. J. Lennon, eds., *Appearance and Power* (Oxford, 1999).
- 117 This despite the inherent eclecticism of both styles. The classic study of punk, D. Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London, 1979), is an important forerunner to contemporary dress theory. Goth style is the subject of two volumes in Berg’s series *Dress, Body, Culture*: D. Brill, *Goth Culture: Gender, Sexuality and Style* (Oxford, 2008); P. Hodkinson, *Goth: Identity, Style and Subculture* (Oxford, 2002).
- 118 See especially J. B. Eicher, *Dress and Ethnicity: Change across Space and Time* (Oxford, 1995); also Lynch, *Dress, Gender and Cultural Change*.
- 119 The extensive body of literature on *hijab* usually focuses on regional variations in veiling practices. See especially E. Tarlo, *Visibly Muslim: Fashion, Politics, Faith* (Oxford, 2010); F. El Guindi, *Veil: Modesty, Privacy and Resistance* (Oxford, 1999).
- 120 J. Entwistle, “Fashion and the Fleishy Body: Dress as Embodied Practice,” *Fashion Theory* 4.3 (2000): 325. [Reprinted, with minor changes, as “The Dressed Body,” in J. Entwistle and E. Wilson, eds., *Body Dressing* (Oxford, 2001), 22–58.] See also J. Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress, and Modern Social Theory* (Cambridge, 2000).
- 121 Entwistle, “Fashion and the Fleishy Body,” 325.
- 122 Entwistle, “Fashion and the Fleishy Body,” 340–341. Entwistle rejects Foucault’s assumed passivity of the subject in favor of Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus*; see *Modern Perspectives on the Body* in [Chapter 2](#) of this volume.
- 123 Entwistle, “Fashion and the Fleishy Body,” 327.
- For a psychoanalytical approach to dress and the boundaries of the body, see A. Warwick and D. Cavallaro, *Fashioning the Frame: Boundaries, Dress and the Body* (Oxford, 1998).
- 124 See [Chapter 2](#), this volume.
- 125 Entwistle, “Fashion and the Fleishy Body,” 335.

## CHAPTER 2: BODIES IN ANCIENT GREECE

- 1 Scholarship on the body in ancient Greece has expanded exponentially in recent years. For a good general introduction, see O. J. T. Harris, et al., “The Body and Politics,” in J. Robb and O. J. T. Harris, eds., *The Body in History: Europe from the Palaeolithic to the Future* (Cambridge, 2013), 98–128. Some of the more significant publications for the present study include R. Osborne, *The History Written on the Classical Greek Body* (Cambridge, 2011); B. Holmes, *The Symptom and the Subject: The Emergence of the Physical Body in Ancient Greece* (Princeton, NJ, 2010); M. M. Sassi, *The Science of Man in Ancient Greece*, trans. P. Tucker (Chicago, 2001) (orig. publ. as *La scienza dell'uomo nella Grecia antica* [Torino, 1988]); J. I. Porter, ed., *Constructions of the Classical Body* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1999); H. King, *Hippocrates' Woman: Reading the Female Body in Ancient Greece* (London, 1998); M. Wyke, ed., *Gender and the Body in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Oxford, 1998); M. Wyke, ed., *Parchments of Gender: Deciphering the Bodies of Antiquity* (Oxford, 1998); A. Stewart, *Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, 1997); L. Dean-Jones, *Women's Bodies in Classical Greek Science* (Oxford, 1994); L. Dean-Jones, “The Cultural Construct of the Female Body in Classical Greek Science,” in S. Pomeroy, ed., *Women's History and Ancient History* (Chapel Hill, 1991), 111–137; D. M. Halperin, et al., eds., *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World* (Princeton, NJ, 1990); G. Sissa, *Greek Virginity*, trans. A. Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA, 1990); M. Arthur-Katz, “Sexuality and the Body in Ancient Greece,” *Métis. Revue d'anthropologie du monde grec ancien* 4 (1989): 155–179; J.-P. Vernant, “Dim Body, Dazzling Body,” in Feher, et al., *Fragments for a History of the Human Body: Part One*, 18–47; P. duBois, *Sowing the Body: Psychoanalysis and Ancient Representations of Women* (Chicago, 1988).
- 2 Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 106–201.
- 3 *Library* 1.7.1. Ovid reiterates this claim in the *Metamorphoses* 1.76–88.
- 4 It is also worth noting that, unlike their neighbors in Egypt and the Near East, the Greeks conceived of their gods as having the same appearance as humans. The epithet “god-like” suggests that in their more perfect form, humans approximated divinities. Significantly for the present study, the Greeks also thought that their gods wore clothes: “But mortals think that the gods are born, wear their own clothes, have voices and bodies” (Xenophanes, H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*<sup>6</sup> [Dublin, 1952], 21 B 14; trans. R. Waterfield, *The First Philosophers: The Presocratics and the Sophists* [Oxford, 2000], 27).
- 5 Interestingly, in Hesiod's *Works and Days* the author's description of the generations of men follows that of the creation of the first woman.
- 6 Hesiod's *Works and Days* presents a less detailed account of the creation of Pandora:  
  
And the goddess bright-eyed Athena girded and clothed her, and the divine Graces and queenly Persuasion put necklaces of gold upon her, and the rich-haired Hours crowned her head with spring flowers. And Pallas Athena bedecked her form with all manner of finery. Also the Guide, the Slayer of Argus, contrived within her lies and crafty words and a deceitful nature at the will of loud thundering Zeus, and the Herald of the gods put speech in her. (72–79)  
  
And the goddess bright-eyed Athena girded and clothed her, and the divine Graces and queenly Persuasion put necklaces of gold upon her, and the rich-haired Hours crowned her head with spring flowers. And Pallas Athena bedecked her form with all manner of finery. Also the Guide, the Slayer of Argus, contrived within her lies and crafty words and a deceitful nature at the will of loud thundering Zeus, and the Herald of the gods put speech in her. (72–79)
- 7 For the strong association between Pandora and the *peplos*, see [Chapter 4](#), p. 106. For the *zone*, see [Chapter 5](#), 135–136. For crowns, see [Chapter 5](#), 142–145.
- 8 For the myth of Pandora, see especially B. Holmes, *Gender: Antiquity and Its Legacy* (Oxford, 2012), 17–27; King, *Hippocrates' Woman*, 23–27; J. Hurwit, “Beautiful Evil: Pandora and the Athena Parthenos,” *AJA* 99 (1995): 171–86; F. I. Zeitlin, “Signifying Difference: The Myth of Pandora,” in R. Hawley and B. Levick, eds., *Women in Antiquity: New Assessments* (London, 1995), 58–74; *cadem*, “Signifying Difference: The Case of Hesiod's Pandora,” in *Playing the Other: Gender and Society in Classical Greek Literature* (Chicago, 1996), 53–86; N. Loraux, *The Children of Athena: Athenian Ideas about Citizenship and the Division between the Sexes*, trans. C. Levine (Princeton, NJ, 1993), 72–110 [orig. publ. as *Les Enfants d'Athéna: idées athéniennes sur la citoyenneté et la division des sexes* (Paris, 1981)].
- 9 Jean-Pierre Vernant notes: “This provision of Pandora's clothing is integrated into her anatomy to compose the bodily physiognomy of a creature one cannot behold without

- admiring” (“Dim Body, Dazzling Body,” 30). Nicole Loraux goes one step further, arguing that Pandora “is her adornments – she has no body” (*The Children of Athena*, 81).
- For a discussion of Pandora in relation to women’s dress, see J. L. Sebesta, “Visions of Gleaming Textiles and a Clay Core: Textiles, Greek Women, and Pandora,” in L. Llewellyn-Jones, ed., *Women’s Dress in the Ancient Greek World* (London, 2002), 125–142.
- 10 For an overview of Greek views of human reproduction, see Holmes, *Gender*, 27–46; King, *Hippocrates’ Woman*, 7–11; Dean-Jones, *Women’s Bodies in Classical Greek Science*, 43–45, 148–224; A. E. Hanson, “Conception, Gestation, and the Origin of Female Nature in the *Corpus Hippocraticum*,” *Helios* 19 (1992): 31–71; R. Garland, *The Greek Way of Life* (Ithaca, 1990), 17–58; L. Dean-Jones, “The Cultural Construct of the Female Body in Classical Greek Science”; G. E. R. Lloyd, *Science, Folklore and Ideology: Studies in the Life Sciences in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, 1983), 86–94.
  - 11 Diels and Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 28 B 17. For translations of the fragments, see Waterfield, *The First Philosophers*.
  - 12 Diels and Kranz, *Fragments der Vorsokratiker*, 59 A 107.
  - 13 Diels and Kranz, *Fragments der Vorsokratiker*, 31 B 65.
  - 14 The classic study is G. E. R. Lloyd, *Polarity and Analogy: Two Types of Argumentation in Early Greek Thought* (Cambridge, 1966). On binary dualism in the Greek construction of gender, see especially P. duBois, *Centaur and Amazons: Women and the Pre-History of the Great Chain of Being* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1982), 110–128.
  - 15 King, *Hippocrates’ Woman*; Dean-Jones, *Women’s Bodies in Classical Greek Science*, 5–6; Lloyd, *Science, Folklore and Ideology*, 88–94; Lloyd, *Polarity and Analogy*, 20–26. Interestingly, the ten gynecological treatises may represent some of the earliest contributions to the corpus (Dean-Jones, *Women’s Bodies in Classical Greek Science*, 10). These works seem to have been written for a female audience and contain information that can only have derived from women themselves, perhaps reflecting a female oral tradition (Dean-Jones, *Women’s Bodies in Classical Greek Science*, 27).
  - 16 For commentary, see I. M. Lonie, *The Hippocratic Treatises “On Generation,” “On the Nature of the Child,” “Diseases IV”* (Berlin, 1981).
  - 17 Dean-Jones, *Women’s Bodies in Classical Greek Science*, 166–170.
  - 18 *On Generation*, 7.478.16–24.
  - 19 The notion of both men and women producing male and female seed is reiterated in *On Regimen I* (1.26–28). A “manly boy” or a “feminine girl” were the most desired outcome, but unfortunate mixing of masculine and feminine seed could result in an undesirable “womanish” or “wimpy” boy, or “manlike” or “manly” girl. See discussion in Hanson, “Conception, Gestation, and the Origin of Female Nature in the *Corpus Hippocraticum*,” 43.
  - 20 *On Regimen*, 1.34.
  - 21 Dean-Jones, *Women’s Bodies in Classical Greek Science*, 176–193; Lloyd, *Science, Folklore and Ideology*, 94–105. R. Mayhew has defended Aristotle’s position: “The male and female both contribute seed, but they are different in that the male contributes form, whereas the female contributes ‘rich’ matter (e.g., not fully concocted blood)” (*The Female in Aristotle’s Biology: Reason or Rationalization* [Chicago, 2004], 28–53).
  - 22 *Generation of Animals*, 766b19–23.
  - 23 *Generation of Animals*, 737a28. Thomas Laqueur cites Aristotle in his construction of a “one-sex” model of sexuality, which he contends was the dominant theory prior to the nineteenth century (*Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* [Cambridge, MA, 1990]). As has been noted by several classicists, this interpretation represents a misunderstanding of the ancient evidence, in particular the Hippocratic corpus (King, *Hippocrates’ Woman*, 7–11; A. Richlin, “Towards a History of Body History,” in M. Golden and P. Toohey, eds., *Inventing Ancient Culture: Historicism, Periodization, and the Ancient World* [London, 1997], 28–29).
  - 24 For sex as a “sliding scale” in antiquity, see especially the work of Maud Gleason, *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton, NJ, 1995); eadem, “The Semiotics of Gender: Physiognomy and Self-Fashioning in the Second Century C.E.,” in Halperin, et al., eds., *Before Sexuality*, 389–415; also Vernant, “Dim Body, Dazzling Body,” 31–32.
  - 25 Hippocrates, *Diseases of Women*, 1.1.

- 26 Hippocrates, *Glands*, 16. It will be argued that the containment of such fluids is an essential function of women's dress, the veil in particular (see Chapter 5, 154–158).
- 27 A. Carson, "Putting Her in Her Place: Woman, Dirt, and Desire," in Halperin, et al., eds., *Before Sexuality*, 158–160.
- 28 For further discussion of gendered *diaita*, see Chapter 3, 55–62.
- 29 See especially duBois, *Sowing the Body*, 39–166.
- 30 Hanson, "Conception, Gestation, and the Origin of Female Nature in the *Corpus Hippocraticum*," 37.
- 31 Hanson, "Conception, Gestation, and the Origin of Female Nature in the *Corpus Hippocraticum*," 40–41; duBois, *Sowing the Body*, 65–85.
- 32 Compare the myth of Pandora, discussed on pp. 34–35. For women's bodies as containers, see F. Lissarrague, "Women, Boxes, Containers: Some Signs and Metaphors," in E. Reeder, ed., *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece* (Princeton, NJ, 1995), 91–101.
- 33 Carson, "Putting Her in Her Place."
- 34 Especially due to problems surrounding menstruation and the "wandering womb." See King, *Hippocrates' Woman*, Chapter 4: "Blood and the Goddesses," which is a revised version of "Bound to Bleed: Artemis and Greek Women," in A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt, *Images of Women in Antiquity* (Detroit, 1983), 109–127; see also *eadem*, "Sacrificial Blood: The Role of Amnion in Ancient Gynecology," *Helios* 13 (1987): 117–126.
- 35 Translation: J. Barnes, ed., *The Complete Works of Aristotle* (Princeton, NJ, 1984).
- 36 Sassi provides a useful diagram illustrating the centrality of the citizen male in Greek culture and the marginality of women and foreigners (*The Science of Man in Ancient Greece*, 29).
- 37 For a good general introduction, see P. Cartledge, *The Greeks: A Portrait of Self and Others*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford, 2002). See also S. Goldhill, *Love, Sex and Tragedy: How the Ancient World Shapes Our Lives* (London, 2004), 11–28, with the important review by C. Conybeare, *BMCR* 2005.01.25.
- As the norm in Greek society, men have traditionally received less scholarly attention than women as a distinct social category. See J. Roisman, *The Rhetoric of Manhood: Masculinity in the Attic Orators* (Berkeley, CA, 2005); K. Bassi, *Acting Like Men: Gender, Drama, and Nostalgia in Ancient Greece* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1998); L. Foxhall and J. Salmon, eds., *Thinking Men: Masculinity and Its Self-Representation in the Classical Tradition* (London, 1998) and *When Men Were Men: Masculinity, Power and Identity in Classical Antiquity* (London, 1998).
- 38 The definitive study of this social category is F. Bourriot, *Kalos kagathos, kalokagathia: d'un terme de propagande de sophistes à une notion sociale et philosophique: étude d'histoire athénienne* (Hildesheim, 1995); though see the review by D. Cairns, *CR* 47 (1997): 74–76.
- 39 For gender as performance in ancient Greece, see Bassi, *Acting like Men*; Gleason, *Making Men*. For modern theoretical perspectives on gender as performance, see p. 53.
- 40 For the means by which bodies become gendered in our own culture, see K. A. Martin, "Becoming a Gendered Body: Practices of Preschools," *American Sociological Review* 63 (1998): 494–511.
- 41 M. Golden, "Childhood in Ancient Greece," in J. Neils and J. H. Oakley, eds., *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past* (New Haven, CT, 2003), 14; and *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens* (Baltimore, MD, 1990), 1–22. See also H. A. Shapiro, "Fathers and Sons, Men and Boys," in Neils and Oakley, eds., *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*, 85–111.
- L. A. Beaumont's *Childhood in Ancient Athens: Iconography and Social History* (London, 2012) appeared after the present chapter was complete; I have incorporated her insights on children's dress as much as possible. Prior to Beaumont's study, the most extensive synthetic treatment of childhood was Garland, *The Greek Way of Life*, 106–162.
- 42 Xenophon, *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, 1.3; Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*, 7.6; Aristotle, *History of Animals*, 9.608b15.
- Infanticide by means of exposure was a common practice throughout antiquity. p. 246, n. 74.
- 43 Golden, *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens*, 19–20. Other designations of age existed; see Golden, 14–16; Garland, *The Greek Way of Life*, 3–6.
- Plato and Aristotle both liken children to women, as well as slaves and animals. For



discussion, see Golden, *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens*, 7.

- 44 J. Neils, “Children and Greek Religion,” in Neils and Oakley, eds., *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*, 153.
- 45 Neils, “Children and Greek Religion,” 144; Golden, *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens*, 23–25.
- 46 Golden, “Childhood in Ancient Greece,” 15; Shapiro, “Fathers and Sons, Men and Boys,” 97; Neils, “Children and Greek Religion,” 144–145, 153; Golden, *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens*, 25–28. For the *koureion*, and hair sacrifices in general, see [Chapter 7](#), p. 204.
- 47 Neils, “Children and Greek Religion,” 145; R. Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria: Athenian Iconography and Ritual* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1992).  
Greta Ham has argued that this festival took on a special importance at the end of the fifth century, when the Athenian population had been devastated by plague and war. The ritual represented a promise of the renewal of the citizen body (“The Choes and Anthesteria Reconsidered: Male Maturation Rites and the Peloponnesian Wars,” in M. W. Padilla, ed., *Rites of Passage in Ancient Greece: Literature, Religion, Society* [Lewisburg, PA, 1999], 201–218).
- 48 See especially Beaumont, *Childhood in Ancient Athens*, 24–42; C. L. Lawton, “Children in Classical Attic Votive Reliefs,” in A. Cohen and J. B. Rutter, eds., *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy* (Princeton, NJ, 2007), 41–60, and J. B. Grossman, “Forever Young: An Investigation of the Depictions of Children in Classical Attic Funerary Monuments,” in Cohen and Rutter, eds., *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy*, 309–322; also L. A. Beaumont, “Constructing a Methodology for the Interpretation of Childhood Age in Classical Athenian Iconography,” *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 13 (1994): 81–96. From the Geometric to the Archaic period, children are more likely to be represented as miniature adults. For images of children in general, see the exhibition catalogue edited by Neils and Oakley, *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*; H. Rühfel, *Das Kind in der griechischen Kunst: Von der minoisch-mykenischen Zeit bis zum Hellenismus* (Mainz am Rhein, 1984); *eadem*, *Kinderleben im klassischen Athen: Bilder auf klassischen Vasen* (Mainz am Rhein, 1984).

Starting in the Hellenistic period, many children are represented in large-scale sculpture in the round; see Rühfel, *Das Kind in der griechischen Kunst*, 213–309.

- Distinctions in age are also clearly indicated in art of the Aegean Bronze Age: see E. N. Davis, “Youth and Age in the Thera Frescoes,” *AJA* 90.4 (1986): 399–406 and R. B. Koehl, “The Chieftain Cup and a Minoan Rite of Passage,” *JHS* 106 (1986): 99–110.
- 49 For the display of genitals by male children, see E. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus: Sexual Politics in Ancient Athens* (New York, 1985; repr. Berkeley CA, 1993), 72–74. For the amulet string (*baskania*) visible in Figure 2.3, see [Chapter 5](#), 152–154. For Greek nudity generally, see [Chapter 6](#), this volume.
- 50 Ham, “The Choes and Anthesteria Reconsidered,” 205. In a statistical analysis of the *choes*, Richard Hamilton found “naked children” on nearly 61 percent of the small vases, but “females” on only 4 percent (*Choes and Anthesteria*, 86). It is unclear whether any of the “naked children” could in fact be identified as female.
- 51 As seen on a marble votive relief to Athena in the Acropolis Museum, Athens, which may represent the presentation of a young boy by his father in the Apatouria (Shapiro, “Fathers and Sons, Men and Boys,” 97, fig. 14).
- 52 Rühfel, *Das Kind in der griechischen Kunst*, 90.
- 53 For boys’ dress, see [Chapter 7](#), Boys 203–204.
- 54 The appearance of the “first beard” was especially charged; see [Chapter 3](#), p. 76.
- 55 For the category of “youth” in the Attic orators, see Roisman, *The Rhetoric of Manhood*, 11–25. For coming of age for both boys and girls, see Garland, *The Greek Way of Life*, 163–198.
- 56 The classic study of the institution of *ephebia* is P. Vidal-Naquet, *The Black Hunter: Forms of Thought and Forms of Society in the Greek World*, trans. A. Szegedy-Maszak (Baltimore, MD, 1986), 106–128 [orig. publ. as *Le chasseur noir: Formes de pensées et forms de société dans le monde grec* (Paris, 1981)]; see also C. Pélékidis, *Histoire de l’éphébie attique des origins à 31 avant Jésus-Christ* (Paris, 1962).
- 57 Leslie Beaumont has noted that the iconography of male adolescence is not strictly defined, reflecting the relatively long period between puberty and adulthood (“The Social Status and Artistic Presentation of



- ‘Adolescence’ in Fifth Century Athens,” in J. S. Derevenski, ed., *Children and Material Culture* [London, 2000], 39–50).
- 58 For the identification of *ephebes* in attic iconography, see C. Sourvinou-Inwood, “A Series of Erotic Pursuits: Images and Meanings,” *JHS* 107 (1987): 135–136.
- The *chlamys* is discussed in [Chapter 4](#), pp. 116–118; the *petasos* and *pilos* are discussed in [Chapter 5](#), p. 160; spears are discussed in [Chapter 7](#), 205–206.
- 59 Stewart, *Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece*, 63–68; *idem*, *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration* (New Haven, CT, 1990), 109–110. For the *kouroi* generally, see also B. S. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*<sup>2</sup> (Chicago, 1993), 61–121; G. M. A. Richter, *Kouroi: Archaic Greek Youths*<sup>3</sup> (London, 1970). For constructions of masculinity in the *kouroi*, see R. Osborne, “Sculpted Men of Athens: Masculinity and Power in the Field of Vision,” in L. Foxhall and J. Salmon, eds., *Thinking Men: Masculinity and Its Self-Representation in the Classical Tradition* (London, 1998), 25–30.
- Most *kouroi* are depicted without garments (see [Chapter 6](#), p. 174 and p. 178 for the nudity of the *kouroi*). A few draped examples have been found, primarily in sanctuaries, where they functioned as votives (Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*<sup>2</sup>, 91–92).
- 60 For the sculpted pubic hair, see [Chapter 3](#), 79–82.
- 61 For the significance of upright stance, see J. Bremmer, “Walking, Standing, and Sitting in Ancient Greek Culture,” in J. Bremmer and H. Roodenburg, eds., *A Cultural History of Gesture: From Antiquity to the Present Day* (Cambridge, 1991), 23–25.
- 62 The classic study of *sophrosyne* is H. North, *Sophrosyne: Self-Knowledge and Self-Restraint in Greek Literature* (Ithaca, NY, 1966). The ideal of masculine *sophrosyne* reflects the belief that adult men were most capable of self-control (Roisman, *The Rhetoric of Manhood*, 176–77). Certainly women and children were also subject to *sophrosyne*, but in a different way (discussed later in this chapter).
- 63 For male adulthood generally, see Roisman, *The Rhetoric of Manhood*, 26–63; Garland, *The Greek Way of Life*, 199–241. J. J. Winkler, “Phallos Politikos: Representing the Body Politic in Athens,” *Differences* 2.1 (1990): 29–45.
- The normative value of the male body in Classical Athens is embodied, so to speak, in the herms distributed throughout the city starting in the late sixth century. These rectangular pillars carved with a head and an erect phallus served as a sign for the male citizen (Winkler, “Phallos Politikos,” 35–36).
- 64 Winkler notes: “the absence of a potbelly hanging out over one’s belt was a center *definiens* for military, civic, and personal manhood” (30).
- 65 For Greek nudity, see [Chapter 6](#).
- 66 K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, MA, 1989) 70; 125–126. The thighs were thought to be particularly attractive to male admirers of young boys.
- 67 The most comprehensive treatment of the Doryphoros is W. G. Moon, ed., *Polykleitos, the Doryphoros, and Tradition* (Madison, WI, 1995). See in particular the contribution by G. V. Leftwich (“Polykleitos and Hippocratic Medicine,” 38–51), in which he argues that the sculptor was influenced by advances in Hippocratic medicine in the mid-fifth century. See also G. Metraux, *Sculptors and Physicians in Fifth-Century Greece: A Preliminary Study* (Montreal, 1995), with review by M. D. Fullerton, *BMC* 96.12.8.
- 68 For changes in sculptural representations, see Osborne, “Sculpted Men of Athens.”
- 69 For the *Physiognomics*, see Sassi, *The Science of Man in Ancient Greece*, 34–81; E. C. Evans, *Physiognomics in the Ancient World* (Philadelphia, 1969). For physiognomics in the second century CE, see Gleason, *Making Men*, esp. 55–81, which is a revised version of “The Semiotics of Gender.”
- 70 Compare the well-known aphorism, attributed to Thales: “There are three things for which I am grateful to destiny: being born a man, not a beast, male rather than female, and a Greek, not a barbarian” (Diogenes Laertius 1.33 [trans. Sassi]).
- 71 Sassi, *The Science of Man in Ancient Greece*, 49.
- 72 For a general introduction, see Goldhill, *Love, Sex and Tragedy*, 39–46.
- 73 For girls in Greek culture, see most recently H. Foley, “Mothers and Daughters,” in Neils and Oakley, eds., *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*, 113–137; also N. Demand, *Birth, Death, and Motherhood in Classical Greece* (Baltimore, MD, 1994), 5–11. The visual evidence for the female life cycle is outlined in S. Lewis, *The*

*Athenian Woman: An Iconographic Handbook* (London, 2002), 13–58. For girls and boys generally, see Garland, *The Greek Way of Life*, 106–162.

- 74 Girls would have been particularly susceptible to infanticide on account of the financial burden to the family promised by their future dowries. See J. H. Oakley, “Death and the Child,” in Neils and Oakley, eds., *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*, 178–179, with bibliography. Ann Haentjens has argued that female infanticide was not widespread in antiquity, since infant mortality was already quite high and most children were not expected to survive to adulthood (“Reflections on Female Infanticide in the Greco-Roman World,” *CLAnt* 69 [2000]: 261–264).

For the education of girls, see S. G. Cole, “Could Greek Women Read and Write?” in H. Foley, ed., *Reflections of Women in Antiquity* (New York, 1981), 219–245.

- 75 An exception is the large number of funerary monuments for girls who died before marriage. See especially C. Sourvinou-Inwood, “Reading’ Greek Death: To the End of the Classical Period (Oxford, 1995), 244–252; K. Stears, “Dead Woman’s Society: Constructing Female Gender in Classical Athenian Funerary Sculpture,” in N. Spencer, ed., *Time, Tradition, and Society in Greek Archaeology: Bridging the “Great Divide”* (London, 1995), 116–117. For images, see also Foley, “Mothers and Daughters,” 132–135, figs. 23–29.
- 76 For a charming image of a woman teaching a girl how to cook, see the fifth century BCE Boeotian terra cotta figurine in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 01.7788 (= Neils and Oakley, eds., *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*, cat. no. 61, color illustration p. 112).
- 77 Tran. S. Pomeroy, *Xenophon, Oeconomicus: A Social and Historical Commentary* (Oxford, 1994), 139.
- 78 Interestingly, girls seem to have been more active than boys in Athenian civic religion (Golden, *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens*, 46). On girls’ roles in religion generally, see M. Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion* (London, 2002).
- 79 As argued by M. Golden, “‘Donatus’ and Athenian Phratry,” *CQ* 35 (1985): 9–13.
- 80 Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria*, 145, n. 68; 219. For the argument that the females are in fact girls, see Lewis, *The Athenian Woman*, 19–21.
- 81 Neils, “Children and Greek Religion,” 149, and fig. 8; Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*, 69–71, and fig. 2.15 (showing perfuming of clothes, also perhaps part of the festival; see Chapter 7 and Figure 7.14 in this volume).
- 82 Probably a reference to the grinding of grain for ritual cakes dedicated to Demeter at Eleusis.
- 83 Neils, “Children and Greek Religion,” 150; Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*, 57–60; G. Donnay, “L’Arrephorie: Initiation ou rite civique? Un cas d’école,” *Kernos* 10 (1997): 177–205.
- 84 The Panathenaic *peplos* is discussed in detail in Chapter 7, p. 223.
- 85 Neils, “Children and Greek Religion,” 151–152; Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*, 220–221.
- 86 The nudity of the runners, is discussed in Chapter 6, p. 185. The *Arkteia* are discussed in detail in Chapter 7, p. 200.
- 87 Eva Keuls notes: “girl children were conceptually nonexistent” (“Attic Vase-Painting and the Home Textile Industry,” in W. G. Moon, ed., *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* [Madison, WI, 1983], 216).
- 88 Sian Lewis argues that images of nude babies whose genitalia are obscured may in fact represent girls (*The Athenian Woman*, 17–19).
- 89 For further discussion and bibliography, see Chapter 7, 212–214.
- 90 C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls’ Transitions: Aspects of the Arkteia and Age Representation in Attic Iconography* (Athens, 1988). For the footraces at the Arkteia, see Chapter 3, p. 59 for the nudity of the figures, see Chapter 6, p. 185 for the dress of the figures, see Chapter 7, p. 200.
- 91 Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls’ Transitions*, 33–66. The same indicators of age are discernible in sculpture: see E. G. Raftopoulou, *Figures enfantines du Musée National d’Athènes Département des Sculptures* (Munich, 2000), and Figures 3.15, 4.8 in the present volume.
- 92 D. W. Amundsen and C. J. Diers, “The Age of Menarche in Classical Greece and Rome,” *Human Biology* 41 (1969): 125–132.

- 93 See especially King, *Hippocrates' Woman*, 75–98.  
For coming of age for both girls and boys, see Garland, *The Greek Way of Life*, 163–198.
- 94 Sissa, *Greek Virginity*; eadem, “Maidenhood without Maidenhead: The Female Body in Ancient Greece,” in Halperin, et al., eds., *Before Sexuality*, 339–364.
- 95 M. Lefkowitz, “The Last Hours of the Parthenos,” in E. Reeder, ed., *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece* (Princeton, NJ, 1995), 32–38.
- 96 Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*, 37–53; L. J. Roccas, “The Kanephoros and Her Festival Mantle in Greek Art,” *AJA* 99 (1995): 641–666.
- 97 Neither the Parthenon maidens nor the Erechtheion caryatids carry their ritual baskets. Their identification as *kanephoroi* is based in part on their unique dress: Roccas, “The Kanephoros and Her Festival Mantle in Greek Art,” 641–666. The garment is discussed in [Chapter 4](#), p. 119.
- 98 Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*, 211–215; C. Calame, *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece: Their Morphology, Religious Role, and Social Functions*, trans. D. Collins and J. Orion (Lanham, MD, 2001).
- 99 Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*, 215–219; Neils, “Children and Greek Religion,” 152–153. The role of dress in coming-of-age rituals is discussed in [Chapter 7](#), pp. 199–204.
- 100 Beaumont, “The Social Status and Artistic Presentation of ‘Adolescence’ in Fifth Century Athens”; F. Frontisi-Ducroux and F. Lissarrague, “Corps féminin, corps virginal: images grecques,” in L. Bruit Zaidman, et al., eds., *Le corps des jeunes filles de l'Antiquité à nos jours* (Paris, 2001), 51–61.
- 101 For the *korai*, see K. Karakasi, *Archaic Korai* (Los Angeles, 2003) (orig. publ. as *Archaische Koren* [Munich, 2001]), plus the important review by B. S. Ridgway, *BMCR* 2004.09.15. See also M. Stieber, *The Poetics of Appearance in the Attic Korai* (Austin, 2004); C. M. Keesling, *The Votive Statues of the Athenian Acropolis* (Cambridge, 2003); Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*<sup>2</sup>, 123–179; G. M. A. Richter, *Korai: Archaic Greek Maidens* (London, 1968).
- 102 For Phrasikleia's dress, see [Chapter 4](#), p. 93 and pp. 106–110; for the hairstyle, see [Chapter 3](#), p. 72; for the jewelry, see [Chapter 5](#), 140–151; for the footwear, see [Chapter 5](#), p. 162.
- 103 In his classic study, D. L. Cairns notes that *aidos* “affects women particularly” (*Aidos: The Psychology and Ethics of Honor and Shame in Ancient Greek Literature* [Oxford, 1993], 120). *Aidos* implies modesty as well as shame and is likewise implicated in the enveloping garments worn by proper women (see [Chapter 4](#), *Peplos*; *Chiton*; *Himation*) as well as veiling practices (see [Chapter 5](#), pp. 154–158).
- 104 For the hairstyle of *parthenoi*, see [Chapter 3](#), p. 72; for the *peplos*, see [Chapter 4](#), 100–106.
- 105 For marriage and motherhood, see Demand, *Birth, Death, and Motherhood in Classical Greece*, 11–26. For young adulthood generally, see Garland, *The Greek Way of Life*, 199–241.
- 106 For women's dress, see [Chapter 4](#), *Peplos*; *Chiton*; *Himation*.
- 107 For the dynamic relationship between the female body and drapery, see J. Darling, “Form and Ideology: Rethinking Greek Drapery,” *Hephaistos* 16/17 (1998/1999) 47–69.
- 108 For the garments, see [Chapter 4](#), 106–110 and 113–116; for the headgear, see [Chapter 5](#), 154–158.
- 109 Interestingly, despite the importance of reproduction for Greek women, they are rarely represented as pregnant or nursing infants (L. Bonfante, “Nursing Mothers in Classical Art,” in A. O. Koloski-Ostrow and C. L. Lyons, eds., *Naked Truths: Women, Sexuality, and Gender in Classical Art and Archaeology* [London, 1997], 174–196). For possible images of pregnant women, see M. Lee, “Maternity and Miasma: Dress and the Transition from *Parthenos* to *Gyne*,” in L. H. Petersen and P. Salzman-Mitchell, eds., *Mothering and Motherhood in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Austin, 2012), 23–42; and [Chapter 7](#), this volume, pp. 212–214.
- 110 For the seated pose, see G. Davies, “On Being Seated: Gender and Body Language in Hellenistic and Roman Art,” in D. L. Cairns, *Body Language in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Swansea, 2005), 215–238, esp. 220 on Attic grave stelai; Bremmer, “Walking, Standing, and Sitting in Ancient Greek Culture,” 25–26. For servants and slaves, see this chapter, p. 49.

- 111 See especially Cartledge, *The Greeks*; duBois, *Centaur and Amazons*.
- 112 For the visual sources generally, see Cohen, ed., *Not the Classical Ideal*. D. Walsh's *Distorted Ideals in Greek Vase-Painting* (New York, 2009) deals primarily with images of myths, heroes, and gods, and is therefore not directly applicable to the present study.
- 113 For a general overview of old age in ancient Greece, see H. Brandt, *Wird auch silbern mein Haar: Eine Geschichte des Alters in der Antike* (Munich, 2002), 17–85; Garland, *The Greek Way of Life*, 242–287; T. M. Falkner, *The Poetics of Old Age in Greek Epic, Lyric, and Tragedy* (Norman, OK, 1995); T. M. Falkner and J. de Luce, *Old Age in Greek and Latin Literature* (Albany, NY, 1989). For old men, see Roisman, *The Rhetoric of Manhood*, 205–214.
- 114 Garland, *The Greek Way of Life*, 245; J. L. Angel, “Ecology and Population in the Eastern Mediterranean,” *WorldArch* 4 (1972): 94.
- 115 For the age of menopause in ancient Greece, see D. W. Amundsen and C. J. Diers, “The Age of Menopause in Classical Greece and Rome,” *Human Biology* 42 (1970): 79–86. For relaxed restrictions on women's sexuality and social interaction after menopause, see Bremmer “The Old Women of Ancient Greece,” 192–193.
- 116 S. B. Matheson, “Old Age in Athenian Vase-Painting,” in J. H. Oakley and O. Palagia, eds., *Athenian Potters and Painters*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 2009), 192–200; P. Birchler Émery, “Old-Age Iconography in Archaic Greek Art,” *MeditArch* 12 (1999): 17–28.
- 117 For older men in grave stelai, see J. Bergemann, *Demos und Thanatos: Untersuchungen zum Wertsystem der Polis im Spiegel der attischen Grabreliefs des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. und zur Funktion der gleichzeitigen Grabbauten* (Munich 1997), 102–116; M. Meyer, “Alte Männer auf attischen Grabdenkmälern,” *AM* 104 (1989): 49–82. For the hair and beards of older men, see [Chapter 3](#), p. 74 and p. 76.
- 118 Similar conventions exist also in earlier black-figure vase painting (e.g., Figure 5.S). For walking sticks as indicators of age, see [Chapter 5](#), p. 170–171.
- 119 A. G. Mitchell, *Greek Vase-Painting and the Origins of Visual Humour* (Cambridge, 2009), 117–120; H. A. Shapiro, *Personifications in Greek Art: The Representation of Abstract Concepts 600–400 B.C.* (Zurich, 1993), 89–92, cat. no. 35, fig. 44.
- 120 T. J. McNiven, “The Unheroic Penis: Otherness Exposed,” *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 15 (1995): 10–16; Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, 125–129. Compare the large genitals of barbarians described later in this chapter (Barbarians). For the petite penis as the ideal, see p. 41.
- 121 Though Plato describes old men in the *gymnasion* as wrinkled and ugly (Plato, *Republic*, Book 5, 452b).
- 122 For old women in ancient Greece, see J. N. Bremmer, “The Old Women of Ancient Greece,” in J. Blok and P. Mason, eds., *Sexual Asymmetry: Studies in Ancient Society* (Amsterdam, 1987), 191–215; Demand, *Birth, Death, and Motherhood in Classical Greece*, 27–29.
- 123 S. Pfisterer-Haas, “Ältere Frauen auf attischen Grabdenkmälern,” *AM* 105 (1990): 179–196; eadem, *Darstellungen alter Frauen in der griechischen Kunst* (Frankfurt am Main, 1989). For older women using cosmetics to appear younger, see [Chapter 3](#), p. 67.
- 124 Noted by Stears, “Dead Woman's Society,” 111–112, among others. It should be acknowledged that given the young age at which *parthenoi* were married, it was quite possible for a *gyne* to become a grandmother at age thirty.
- 125 For images of non-elites generally, see pp. 46–51.
- 126 For tattooing as an ethnic marker, see [Chapter 3](#), pp. 84–86.
- 127 The scholarship on female sex workers is now extensive. See especially A. Glazebrook and M. Henry, eds., *Greek Prostitutes in the Ancient Mediterranean, 800 BCE–200 CE* (Madison, WI, 2011); Lewis, *The Athenian Woman*, 98–129; L. Kurke, *Coins, Bodies, Games, and Gold: The Politics of Meaning in Archaic Greece* (Princeton, NJ, 1999); J. Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens* (London, 1998).
- 128 Trans. C. Carey, *Apollodoros against Neaira [Demosthenes] 59* (Warminster, 1992). For analysis, see D. Hamel, *Trying Neaira: The True Story of a Courtesan's Scandalous Life in Ancient Greece* (New Haven, CT, 2003). For the terminology of *hetaira*, *pallake*, and *porne*,

- see J. Miner, “Courtesan, Concubine, Whore: Apollodorus’ Deliberate Use of Terms for Prostitutes,” *AJP* 124 (2003): 19–37. Certainly all women (and boys) of servile status within the household were potential sexual partners for the head of the household, though they may not have been named specifically as sex workers.
- 129 Miner, “Courtesan, Concubine, Whore”; Kurke, *Coins, Bodies, Games, and Gold*, 175–219; Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes*, 73–136.
- 130 The images are collected in M. F. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases* (London, 1993) and I. Peschel, *Die Hetäre bei Symposion und Komos in der attisch-rotfiguren Vasenmalerei des 6–4 Jahr. v. Chr.* (Frankfurt, 1987). For a good synopsis of the problems surrounding the representation of sex workers, see Lewis, *The Athenian Woman*, 101–112; also J. Neils, “Others within the Other: An Intimate Look at Hetairai and Maenads,” in Cohen, ed., *Not the Classical Ideal*, 206–226; Kilmer, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases*, 159–167.
- 131 R. F. Sutton, “Pornography and Persuasion on Attic Pottery,” in A. Richlin, ed., *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome* (Oxford, 1992), 11–12; Pfisterer-Haas, *Darstellungen alter Frauen in der griechischen Kunst*, 47–68. For the humiliation and abuse of sex workers on Greek vases, see Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus*, 174–186. For the view that representations of overweight women are simply “realistic” images without further significance, see Lewis, *The Athenian Woman*, 125.
- 132 As noted by Beard, “Adopting an Approach,” 26–30.
- 133 For the problems surrounding bathing imagery, see [Chapter 3](#), pp. 61–62. For feminine nudity generally, see [Chapter 6](#), pp. 182–186.
- 134 For depilation, see [Chapter 3](#), pp. 79–82; for cosmetics, see [Chapter 3](#), pp. 66–69.
- 135 For amulets, see [Chapter 5](#), pp. 152–154.
- 136 For hairstyles, see [Chapter 3](#), pp. 69–76.
- 137 J. Bergemann has determined that even when *metics* (resident aliens) and slaves were themselves commemorated in grave stelai, the iconography is indistinguishable from that employed on elite monuments (*Demos und Thanatos*, 146–150).
- For an interesting example of potters represented on vases, see [Chapter 3](#), p. 86.
- 138 For slavery in ancient Greece generally, see P. duBois, *Slaves and Other Objects* (Chicago, 2003); S. R. Joshel and S. Murnaghan, *Women and Slaves in Greco-Roman Culture: Differential Equations* (London, 1998); Y. Garlan, *Slavery in Ancient Greece*, rev. ed., trans. J. Lloyd (Ithaca, NY, 1988) [orig. publ. as *Les esclaves en grèce ancienne* (Paris, 1982)].
- 139 H. Schulze, *Ammen und Pädagogen: Sklavinnen und Sklaven als Erzieher in der antiken Kunst und Gesellschaft* (Mainz, 1998) (summary in English, 102–104); N. Himmelmann, *Archäologische zum Problem der griechischen Sklaverei* (Mainz, 1971).
- 140 Elite women would sometimes spin or weave on small frames, but this is understood as an elite ideal pastime rather than labor essential to the maintenance of the household.
- 141 For hairstyles as indicators of status, see [Chapter 3](#), pp. 69–76. For tattooing, see [Chapter 3](#), pp. 84–86. For the physiognomies of foreigners, see below. For foreign dress, see [Chapter 4](#), pp. 120–126.
- 142 See J. H. Oakley, “Some ‘Other’ Members of the Athenian Household: Maids and Their Mistresses in Fifth-Century Athenian Art,” in Cohen, ed., *Not the Classical Ideal*, 227–247; J. Reilly, “Many Brides: ‘Mistress and Maid’ on Athenian Lekythoi,” *Hesperia* 58 (1989): 411–444.
- 143 The complaint of the Old Oligarch that “so far as clothing and general appearance are concerned, the common people here are no better than the slaves and metics” (1.10) is a commentary on the relatively plain dress of the Athenian citizenry in the fifth century rather than a reflection of elegant dress for slaves. (Translation: R. Osborne, *The Old Oligarch: Pseudo-Xenophon’s Constitution of the Athenians*<sup>2</sup> [London, 2004]).
- 144 For representations of craftsmen, see M. Pipili, “Wearing an Other Hat: Workmen in Town and Country, in Cohen, ed., *Not the Classical Ideal*, 153–179, with earlier bibliography.
- 145 For the garments, see [Chapter 4](#), p. 112; for headgear, see [Chapter 5](#), p. 160.
- 146 For the nudity of workers, see [Chapter 6](#), pp. 181–182.



- 147 The bibliography on barbarians in Greek society is extensive. The classic study is E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy* (Oxford, 1989). See also I. Malkin, ed., *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity* (Washington, DC, 2001); J. M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1997).
- 148 A good general introduction to the visual sources is B. Sparkes, "Some Greek Images of Others," in B. L. Molyneaux, ed., *The Cultural Life of Images: Visual Representation in Archaeology* (London, 1997), 130–158. Several essays relating to images of barbarians in Attic vase painting are collected in part three of Cohen, ed., *Not the Classical Ideal*.
- 149 For body modifications of barbarians, see Chapter 3, pp. 82–88; for non-Greek dress, see Chapter 4, pp. 120–126.
- 150 For representations of Africans in Greek art, see F. M. Snowden, *Before Color Prejudice: The Ancient View of Blacks* (Cambridge, MA, 1983); *idem*, "Iconographical Evidence on the Black Populations in Greco-Roman Antiquity," in D. Bindman and H. L. Gates, eds., *The Image of the Black in Western Art I: From the Pharaohs to the Fall of the Roman empire*, new ed. (Cambridge, 2010), 144–250; *idem*, *Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience* (Cambridge, MA, 1970).
- 151 For circumcision as a barbarian practice, see Chapter 3, p. 86.
- 152 For a general introduction, see R. Garland, *The Eye of the Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman World*<sup>2</sup> (London, 2010). See also N. Vlahogiannis, "'Curing' Disability," in H. King, ed., *Health in Antiquity* (London, 2005), 180–191; *idem*, "Disabling Bodies," in Montserrat, ed., *Changing Bodies, Changing Meanings*, 13–36.
- 153 As argued by M. L. Rose, *The Staff of Oedipus: Transforming Disability in Ancient Greece* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2003), 29–49.
- 154 M. D. Grmek, and D. Gourevitch, *Les maladies dans l'art antique* (Paris, 1998), 220–221, 258–260, 282–287, 334–336.
- 155 Mitchell, *Greek Vase-Painting and the Origins of Visual Humour*, 235–241; Grmek and Gourevitch, *Les maladies dans l'art antique*, 204–208; V. Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece* (Oxford, 1993), 163–245, 288–319.
- 156 For a general introduction to the theoretical literature on the body, see especially B. S. Turner, *The Body and Society: Explorations in Social Theory* (London, 1996); E. Grosz, *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism* (Bloomington, 1994); C. Shilling, *The Body and Social Theory* (London, 1993); A. Synnott, *The Body Social: Symbolism, Self and Society* (London, 1993).
- 157 M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London, 1966).
- 158 Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 121. The work of Julia Kristeva expands on the notion of bodily boundaries, which she argues are not so clearly demarcated; rather, the ambiguity of such boundaries results in what she calls *abjection* (*Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection* [New York, 1982]).
- 159 For feminist critique of Foucault by classicists, see especially A. Richlin, "Foucault's History of Sexuality: A Useful Theory for Women?," in D. H. J. Larmour, et al., eds., *Rethinking Sexuality: Foucault and Classical Antiquity* (Princeton, NJ, 1998), 138–170; Foxhall, "Pandora Unbound"; A. Richlin, "Zeus and Metis: Foucault, Feminism, Classics," *Helios* 18 (1991): 160–180.
- 160 M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. A. Sheridan (New York, 1977).
- 161 M. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 3: *The Care of the Self*, trans. R. Hurley (New York, 1986) (orig. publ. as *Souci de soi* [Paris, 1984]). For the *diata*, see Chapter 3, pp. 55–62.
- 162 M. Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception* (New York, 1995), 83–84.
- 163 P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge, 1977), 82–83.
- 164 M. Mauss, "The Notion of Body Techniques," in *Sociology and Psychology: Essays*, trans. B. Brewster (London, 1979), 97–123 [orig. publ. as "Techniques du corps," *Journal de Psychologie* 32 (1936)].
- 165 For an explicitly feminist treatment of bodily techniques, see I. M. Young, "Throwing like a Girl: A Phenomenology of Feminine Body Comportment, Motility, and Spatiality," in *Throwing like a Girl and Other Essays in Feminist Philosophy and Social Theory* (Bloomington, 1990), 141–159, and "'Throwing like a Girl': Twenty Years



- Later,” in D. Welton, ed., *Body and Flesh: A Philosophical Reader* (Oxford, 1998), 286–291.
- 166 E. Goffman, *The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life* (Garden City, NJ, 1959); *idem*, “Gender Display” and *Gender Advertisements*. See also [Chapter 1](#), pp. 23–24.
- 167 See especially Butler, *Undoing Gender*; *eadem*, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York, 1999); *eadem*, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex”* (New York, 1993).
- 168 J. Butler, “Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory” in K. Conboy, et al., eds., *Writing on the Body: Female Embodiment and Feminist Theory* (New York, 1997), 406. Similar ideas are put forth by C. West and D. Zimmerman in “Doing Gender,” *Gender and Society* 1 (1987): 125–151.
- 169 *Bodies that Matter*, 130–131.
- 5 An excellent overview is E. Craik, “Hippocratic *Diaita*,” in J. Wilkins, et al., eds., *Food in Antiquity* (Exeter, 1995), 343–350. Ancient “dietetics” are discussed by Foucault in *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 2: *The Use of Pleasure*, trans. R. Hurley (New York, 1990) (orig. publ. as *L’Usage des plaisirs* [Paris, 1984]), esp. pp. 95–116; for a corrective, see W. Detel, *Foucault and Classical Antiquity: Power, Ethics and Knowledge*, trans. D. Wigg-Wolf (Cambridge, 1998), 93–117.
- 6 M. Nestle, “Mediterranean Diets: Historical and Research Overview,” *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition* 61 (Supplement) (June, 1995): 1313S–1320S; G. A. Spiller, ed., *The Mediterranean Diets in Health and Disease* (New York, 1991).

For a general overview of food in the ancient Mediterranean, see J. Wilkins and S. Hill, *Food in the Ancient World* (Malden, MA, 2006); A. Dalby, *Food in the Ancient World from A to Z* (London, 2003); P. Garnsey, *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1999); A. Sonnenfeld, *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present*, trans. C. Botsford et al. (New York, 1996), 69–162; J. Wilkins, et al., eds., *Food in Antiquity* (Exeter, 1995). For Archaic and Classical Greece, see P. Pray Bober, *Art, Culture, and Cuisine: Ancient and Medieval Gastronomy* (Chicago, 1999), 77–122; A. Dalby, *Siren Feasts: A History of Food and Gastronomy in Greece* (London, 1996), 57–129; T. Braun, “Ancient Mediterranean Food,” in G. A. Spiller, ed., *The Mediterranean Diets in Health and Disease* (New York, 1991), 10–55; H. King, “Food as a Symbol in Classical Greece,” *History Today* 36.9 (1986): 35–39.

### CHAPTER 3: BODY MODIFICATION

- 1 A preliminary version of this chapter, focusing on the Classical period, was published as “Body-Modification in Classical Greece,” in T. Fögen and M. M. Lee, eds., *Bodies and Boundaries in Graeco-Roman Antiquity* (Berlin, 2009), 155–180.
- Eicher and Roach-Higgins, “Dress and Identity” 8; also Eicher and Roach-Higgins, “Definition and Classification of Dress,” 16, 18.
- 2 See in general V. L. Pitts, *In the Flesh: The Cultural Politics of Body Modification* (New York, 2003); M. Featherstone, ed., *Body Modification* (= *Body and Society* 5.2–3) (London, 1999); P. Falk, “Written in the Flesh,” *Body and Society* 1.1 (1995): 95–105; F. E. Mascia-Lees and P. Sharpe, eds., *Tattoo, Torture, Mutilation, and Adornment: The Denaturalization of the Body in Culture and Text* (Albany, 1992).
- 3 T. Turner, “The Social Skin,” in J. Chérfas and R. Lewin, eds., *Not Work Alone: A Cross-Cultural View of Activities Superfluous to Survival* (London, 1980), 112–114, 140.
- 4 J. Entwistle, “The Dressed Body,” in J. Entwistle and E. Wilson, eds., *Body Dressing* (Oxford, 2001), 37.

Bodily boundaries are discussed in [Chapter 2](#), p. 51.

- 7 P. Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge, 1988).
- 8 For a general introduction to the literary sources, see E. Craik, “Diet, *Diaita* and Dietetics,” in A. Powell, ed., *The Greek World* (London, 1995), 387–402. Recipes derived from the ancient literary sources, adapted for the modern kitchen, are featured in A. Dalby and S. Grainger, *The Classical Cookbook* (Los Angeles, 1996).
- 9 See J. Wilkins, *The Boastful Chef: The Discourse of Food in Ancient Greek Comedy* (Oxford, 2000).
- 10 For the archaeology of food production in the Greek world, see R. I. Curtis, *Ancient*

- Food Technology* (Leiden, 2001), 259–322; B. A. Sparkes, “The Greek Kitchen,” *JHS* 82 (1962): 121–137 and “The Greek Kitchen: Addenda,” *JHS* 85 (1965): 162–163.
- 11 For an introduction to archaeological approaches to diet, see S. H. Ambrose and M. A. Katzenberg, eds., *Biogeochemical Approaches to Paleodietary Analysis* (New York, 2000), with earlier bibliography.
- 12 Plato, *Republic*, 372a–d; compare Homer, *Odyssey*, 3.480; Thucydides, *Histories*, 1.138. Discussion in Craik, “Diet, *Diaita* and Dietetics,” 390–397.
- 13 The association of legumes with the lower classes is apparent in the statement: “Now that he’s rich, he’s lost his taste for lentil soup” (Aristophanes, *Wealth*, 1004). On sacrifice, see the classic volume edited by M. Detienne and J. P. Vernant, *The Cuisine of Sacrifice among the Greeks*, trans. P. Wissing (Chicago, 1989) (orig. publ. as *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec* [Paris, 1979]). For public dining generally, see P. Schmitt Pantel, *La Cité au Banquet: histoire des repas publics dans les cités grecques* (= *Collection de l’École Française de Rome* 157) (Rome, 1992).
- 14 And, perhaps, their entertainers. The consumption of wine by women (especially old women) and slaves is viewed negatively in comedy (E. L. Bowie, “Wine in Old Comedy,” in O. Murray and M. Tecusan, eds., *In Vino Veritas* [London, 1995], 116–119); H. Wilson, *Wine and Words in Classical Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (London, 2003), 48–51; Mitchell, *Greek Vase-Painting and the Origins of Visual Humour*, 75–78. Women did, however, consume wine in ritual contexts (e.g., the Thesmophoria), and when prescribed for medical purposes by the Hippocratics (R. Alessi, “Le vin dans les Épidémies d’Hippocrate,” in J. Jouanna and L. Villard, eds., *Vin et santé en Grèce ancienne* [= *BCH Suppl.* 40] [Paris, 2002], 105–112). Spartan women may have had greater access to wine than Athenian women (Pomeroy, *Spartan Women*, 133). For ethnic stereotypes of wine consumption, see D. Lenfant, “Le vin dans les stéréotypes ethniques des Grecs (du rôle de la norme en ethnographie,” *ibid*, 67–84. On the Greek *symposion*, see especially Murray and Tecusan, *In Vino Veritas*, “Wine in Greek Culture”; O. Murray, ed., *Symptica: A Symposium on the Symposion* (Oxford, 1990); F. Lissarrague, *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet: Images of Wine and Ritual*, trans. A. Szegedy-Maszak (Princeton, NJ, 1990).
- 15 More work is needed on the ideological relationship between diet and the body in the Classical period. For a theoretical overview and discussion in the context of the Greek Bronze Age, see Y. Hamilakis, “Food Technologies/Technologies of the Body: The Social Context of Wine and Oil Production and Consumption in Bronze Age Crete,” *WorldArch* 31.1 (1999): 38–54.
- 16 H. King, “Food and Blood in Hippocratic Gynaecology,” in Wilkins, et al., eds., *Food in Antiquity*, 353–355.
- 17 On bathing, see pp. 60–62.
- 18 See Garnsey, “Food and Society,” esp. 100–112. The situation may have been different in Sparta, where, according to Xenophon (*Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, 1.4) women were fed well in order to sustain healthy pregnancies. A generous and healthy diet may also have contributed to the famed height of Spartan women. See discussion in S. Pomeroy, *Spartan Women* (Oxford, 2002), 52–54, 133–134.
- 19 Craik, “Hippocratic *Diaita*,” 346.
- 20 The textual sources vary widely according to genre and period; some are quite late. See Sparkes, “The Greek Kitchen,” 122–123, esp. n. 8. For luxurious eating, see Wilkins, *The Boastful Chef*, 257–311.
- 21 Wilkins, *The Boastful Chef*, 27. Comic actors would have appeared more or less overweight by means of padded costumes: see Stone, *Costume in Aristophanic Comedy*, 127–143. For humorous portrayals of gluttony in vase painting, see Mitchell, *Greek Vase-Painting and the Origins of Visual Humour*, 91–94. For images of obesity in later Greek and Roman art, see Grmek and Gourevitch, *Les maladies dans l’art antique*, 165–182.
- 22 Wilkins, *The Boastful Chef*, 27–28. For images of excessively thin persons in later Greek and Roman art, see Grmek and Gourevitch, *Les maladies dans l’art antique*, 145–164. The notion that philosophers were at risk of excessive thinness survived into the Roman period: the syndrome of *leptosune*, “thinness” or “lightness” appears as a literary trope describing those who are excessively intellectual and neglect the care of their bodies. See G. Nisbet, “A Sickness of Discourse: The Vanishing Syndrome of *Leptosune*,” *GaR* 50.2 (2003): 191–205.

- 23 For the *hetairai*, see [Chapter 2](#), p. 48, n. 131; for the athletes, see this chapter p. 59, n. 47.
- 24 See [Chapter 2](#), p. 47; also Grmek and Gourevitch, *Les maladies dans l'art antique*, 155–158; Garland, *The Eye of the Beholder*, 118, figs. 50 and 51.
- 25 The literature on ancient Greek athletics is extensive, particularly in the wake of the 2004 Athens Olympics. General studies include S. G. Miller, *Ancient Greek Athletics* (New Haven, CT, 2004); M. Golden, *Sport and Society in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, 1998); see also M. B. Poliakoff, *Combat Sports in the Ancient World: Competition, Violence, and Culture* (New Haven, CT, 1987).
- 26 The balance of food and exercise, together with bathing and emetics, was essential to the maintenance of proper health (Craik, “Hippocratic Diaita,” 347).
- 27 Osborne, “Sculpted Men of Athens,” 29. Osborne refers to the athletic complex as the *palaestra*. The terms *gymnasion* and *palaestra* (wrestling school) are often conflated; I have chosen to use *gymnasion* to underscore its literal meaning: “the naked place,” that is, the place for exercise in the nude. On nudity in Greek athletics, see later in this chapter and [Chapter 6](#), p. 177–179.
- For the intersection between the ancient Greek *gymnasion* and gay gym culture in the twenty-first century, see E. Alvarez, *Muscle Boys: Gay Gym Culture* (New York, 2008), 11–31.
- 28 S. G. Miller, *Arete: Greek Sports from Ancient Sources*<sup>2</sup> (Berkeley, 1991) is a useful compilation of the literary evidence.
- 29 S. L. Glass, “The Greek Gymnasium: Some Problems,” in Raschke, ed., *The Archaeology of the Olympics*, 160–161.
- 30 A second-century inscription from Macedonian Beroia (*SEG* 27.261) forbids slaves, freedmen, sons of freedmen, the handicapped, male prostitutes, commercial traders, drunkards, and madmen from entering the *gymnasion*. See P. Gauthier and M. B. Hatzopoulos, *La loi gymnasiarche de Beroia* (= *Meletēmata* 16) (Athens, 1993); translation: Miller, *Arete*, 133–138.
- 31 Osborne, “Sculpted Men of Athens,” 29.
- 32 T. K. Hubbard identifies the *palaestra* (*gymnasion*) as “a sanctuary of pederastic culture” (“Sex in the Gym: Athletic Trainers and Pedagogical Pederasty,” *Intertexts* 7.1 [2003] 16). See also D. Hawhee, *Bodily Arts: Rhetoric and Athletics in Ancient Greece* (Austin, 2004), esp. 123–128; T. Scanlon, *Eros and Greek Athletics* (Oxford, 2002), 199–273; C. Calame, *The Poetics of Eros in Ancient Greece*, trans. J. Lloyd (Princeton, NJ, 1999), 101–109.
- The custom of athletic nudity is discussed in greater detail in [Chapter 6](#).
- 33 On the identification and function of the *himation*, see [Chapter 4](#), pp. 113–116.
- 34 This is a frequent motif in bathing scenes (later in this chapter), and erotic imagery in general.
- 35 *Aryballoi*, together with *strigils*, make up the “athlete’s kit” that appears in vase painting as a kind of icon for athletics and masculine beauty; see [Chapter 5](#), p. 169. Thousands of *aryballoi* have been recovered archaeologically, some still containing oily residues, which have been analyzed scientifically (see pp. 63, 65).
- 36 N. M. Kennell, “‘Most Necessary for the Bodies of Men’: Olive Oil and Its By-Products in the Later Greek Gymnasium,” in M. Joyal, ed., *In Altum: Seventy-Five Years of Classical Studies in Newfoundland* (St. John’s, 2001), 119–133. The Greeks believed anointing the body with oil gave the athlete greater strength (C. Ulf, “Die Einreibung der griechischen Athleten mit Öl: Zweck und Ursprung,” *Stadion* 5.2 [1979], 220–238).
- 37 P. A. Hannah, “The Reality of Greek Male Nudity: Looking to African Parallels,” *Scholia* 7 (1998): 32. The tanned, oiled skin of athletes was compared in antiquity to the appearance of polished bronze statues of athletes (e.g., [Figure 3.3](#)). See C. C. Mattusch, *Classical Bronzes: The Art and Craft of Greek and Roman Statuary* (Ithaca, 1996), 24–25, 88–89, with earlier bibliography.
- 38 Hannah “The Reality of Greek Male Nudity,” 30–32. In Xenophon’s *Symposium*, Socrates distinguishes unscented olive oil used by athletes in the *gymnasion* from the perfumed oil used by women (see p. 64).
- 39 Philostratus notes: “The dust of clay is good for disinfecting and for giving balance to excessive sweaters; dust from terracotta is good for opening closed pores for perspiration; dust from asphalt is good for heating the chilled; black and yellow earth dusts are both good for softening and for maintaining, but yellow dust also adds glisten and is a delight to see on

- a nice body which is in good shape. The dust should be sprinkled with a fluid motion of the wrist and with fingers spread apart and the dust more like a cloud than a thunderburst so that it covers the athlete like soft down” (*On Gymnastics* 56). Translation: Miller, *Arete*, 21–22.
- 40 Additional examples are listed in F. M. Hodges, “The Ideal Prepuce in Ancient Greece and Rome: Male Genital Aesthetics and Their Relation to *Lipodermos*, Circumcision, Foreskin Restoration, and the *Kynodesmè*,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 75 (2001): 381–382, ns. 22–23, who relies heavily on E. J. Dingwall, *Male Infibulation* (London, 1925). For modern ethnographic parallels for the practice, see Dingwall, *Male Infibulation*, 82–103.
- 41 Miller, *Ancient Greek Athletics*, 12–13. The Greek practice should not be confused with the Roman method of *infibulation*, in which the foreskin was pierced for the insertion of a metal ring or *fibula* (Dingwall, *Male Infibulation*, 1–81).
- 42 W. E. Sweet, “Protection of the Genitals in Greek Athletics,” *AncW* 11.1–2 (1985): 43–52.
- 43 Additional examples are listed in P. Zanker, *The Mask of Socrates: The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity*, trans. A. Shapiro (Berkeley, 1995), 347, n. 43. Satyrs also display infibulation, for example, on red-figure *psykter* by Douris in the British Museum (E 768).
- 44 Zanker, *The Mask of Socrates*, 28–29.
- 45 For a general discussion of the athletic body, see Osborne, *The History Written on the Classical Greek Body*, 27–37.
- 46 Philostratus states: “A boxer derives some advantage from a belly, for it wards off blows from the face when it projects into the path of the opponent’s thrust” (*On Gymnastics* 34). For the diet of athletes, see J. M. Renfrew, “Food for Athletes and Gods: A Classical Diet,” in Raschke, ed., *The Archaeology of the Olympics*, 174–176.
- 47 Sometimes to comic effect, as on the red-figure *kylix* signed by Pheidippos in the British Museum (E6): Mitchell, *Greek Vase-Painting and the Origins of Visual Humour*, 241–242. Unfit athletes are mocked in Aristophanes (*Frogs*, 1089–1098; *Clouds*, 1010–1019).
- 48 For women and athletics generally, see Scanlon, *Eros and Greek Athletics*, 98–273 and Miller, *Ancient Greek Athletics*, 150–159, both with earlier bibliography. For the literary sources, see Miller, *Arete*, 99–104.
- 49 Sourvinou-Inwood (*Studies in Girls’ Transitions*, 33–66) identifies the ages of the runners represented on the Brauron *krateriskoi* (cf. Figure 2.6) by means of painterly conventions of dress and body types (see Chapter 2, p. 44 and Chapter 7, p. 200). On the Arkteia, see most recently Scanlon, *Eros and Greek Athletics*, 139–174 (orig. publ. as “Race or Chase at the Arkteia of Attica? *Nikephoros* 3 [1990]: 73–120); B. Gentili and F. Perusino, eds., *Le orse di Brauron: Un rituale di iniziazione nel santuario di Artemide* (Pisa, 2002), with earlier bibliography. C. Faraone argues against the identification of the Arkteia as an initiation rite, in favor of substitute sacrifice to appease the goddess Artemis (“Playing the Bear and Fawn for Artemis: Female Initiation or Substitute Sacrifice?” in D. B. Dodd and C. A. Faraone, eds., *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives: New Critical Perspectives* [London, 2003], 43–68).
- For the nudity of the participants in the ritual, see Chapter 6, p. 185.
- 50 On the Heraia, see Scanlon, *Eros and Greek Athletics*, 98–120 (orig. publ. as “The Footrace of the Heraia at Olympia,” *AncW* 9 [1984]: 77–90); N. Serwint, “The Female Athletic Costume at the Heraia and Prenuptial Initiation Rites,” *AJA* 97.3 (1993): 403–422. The dress is discussed in Chapter 7, p. 201.
- 51 Most of the literary sources are late, but Euripides notes that Spartan maidens shared “the same running tracks and wrestling places” with men (*Andromache* 599–600); likewise, Xenophon claims that Lycurgus “insisted on physical training for the female no less than for the male sex: moreover, he instituted races and trials of strength for women competitors as for men, believing that if both parents are strong they produce more vigorous offspring” (*Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, 1.4). On girls’ athletics at Sparta, see most recently J. Neils, “Spartan Girls and the Athenian Gaze,” in S. L. James and S. Dillon, eds., *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World* (Oxford, 2012), 155–158; also Scanlon, *Eros and Greek Athletics*, 121–138 (orig. publ. as: “*Virgineum Gymnasium*: Spartan Females and Early Greek Athletics,” in

- W. Raschke, ed., *The Archaeology of the Olympics* [Madison, 1988; repr. 2002], 185–216); Pomeroy, *Spartan Women*, 12–27.
- 52 Or perhaps just scantily clad (Scanlon, *Eros and Greek Athletics*, 125 and n. 19, with earlier references; Pomeroy, *Spartan Women*, 25–27).
- 53 In fact, the figures are not completely nude: several wear amulets, footwear, or headgear of various types; fourteen wear diaper-like briefs known as *diazoma* (see p. 98). The mirrors are discussed in Scanlon, *Eros and Greek Athletics*, 127–138; also Stewart, *Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece*, 108–118, and Appendix, 231–234. The nude examples have been alternatively identified as *hetairai* or entertainers (e.g., G. M. A. Richter, “An Archaic Greek Mirror,” *AJA* 42 [1938]: 337–344; *eadem*, “Another Archaic Greek Mirror,” *AJA* 46 [1942]: 319–324). For Greek hand mirrors generally, see Chapter 5, pp. 165–167.
- 54 Compare the role of Barbie dolls in modern American culture: J. Urla and A. C. Swedlund, “The Anthropometry of Barbie: Unsettling Ideals of the Feminine Body in Popular Culture,” J. Terry and J. Urla, eds., *Deviant Bodies: Critical Perspectives on Difference in Science and Popular Culture* (Bloomington, IN, 1995), 277–313 (repr. in L. Schiebinger, ed., *Feminism and the Body* [Oxford, 2000], 397–428).
- 55 Translation Pomeroy, *Xenophon, Oeconomicus*, 163. This passage follows a diatribe on the deceptiveness of cosmetics (see pp. 67–68).
- 56 B. M. Thomas, “Constraints and Contradictions: Whiteness and Femininity in Ancient Greece,” in L. Llewellyn-Jones, ed., *Women’s Dress in the Ancient Greek World* (London, 2002), 10–12. Of course, women of lower social classes would not have had the luxury to remain indoors. For the use of cosmetics to achieve pale skin artificially, see pp. 67–68. The significance of pale skin is underscored on Attic black-figure vases by the use of added white for female figures (e.g., Fig. 5.20). See the extensive discussion in M. A. Eaverly, *Tan Men/Pale Women: Color and Gender in Archaic Greece and Egypt, a Comparative Approach* (Ann Arbor, 2013).
- 57 S. K. Lucore and M. Trümper, eds., *Greek Baths and Bathing Culture: New Discoveries and Approaches* (= *BABesch* Suppl. 23) (Leuven, 2013); M. Weber, *Antike Badekultur* (Munich, 1996), 22–30; F. K. Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* (New York, 1992), 6–29; R. Ginouvès, *Balaneutique: Recherches sur le bain dans l’antiquité grecque* (Paris, 1962), 109–150. Monumental bathing facilities do not appear until the fifth century. Prior to this, athletes bathed in water from wells and fountains (discussed later). Bathing is essential to ritual; see Chapter 7, p. 220.
- 58 On the *strigil*, see E. Kotera-Feyer, *Die Strigilis* (Frankfurt am Main, 1993).
- 59 The most well known of these is the Roman copy of Lysippos’ *Apoxymenos* (*Scraper*) in the Vatican. The vase paintings are discussed in E. Kotera-Feyer, “Die Strigilis in der attisch-rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei: Bildformeln und ihre Deutung,” *Nikephoros* 11 (1998): 107–136.
- 60 Discussion in Kennell, “Olive Oil and Its By-Products,” 128–133. Pliny (*Natural History* 28.50) recommends scrapings from the *gymnasia* as a salve for various complaints including, predictably, athletic injuries such as dislocations and inflamed joints, but also sexual discomforts such as inflammations of the anus and condyloma (genital warts or herpes).
- 61 The vase paintings depicting this process are listed in Kotera-Feyer, “Die Strigilis in der attisch-rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei,” 110.
- 62 The *louterion* is a polyvalent (often erotic) symbol in vase painting, and a “prétexte à dénuder les corps” (J.-L. Durand and F. Lissarrague, “Un lieu d’image? L’espace du louterion,” *Hephaistos* 2 [1980], 97).
- 63 Although we have no secure evidence, it is possible that this oil was scented (see p. 64).
- 64 Vase paintings depicting women with *strigils* cannot be taken as evidence for women bathing at the *gymnasion* (C. Bérard, “L’impossible femme athlète,” *AION* 8 [1986]: 195–202); rather, they represent an erotic male fantasy (Kotera-Feyer, “Die Strigilis in der attisch-rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei,” 111–112; Stewart, *Art, Desire, and the Body*, 122).
- 65 For female nudity, see Chapter 6, pp. 182–186.
- 66 A. Stähli, “Women Bathing: Displaying Female Attractiveness on Greek Vases,” in Lucore and Trümper, eds., *Greek Baths and Bathing Culture*, 11–21; S. Pfisterer-Haas, “Mädchen und Frauen am Wasser: Brunnenhaus und Louterion als Orte der Frauengemeinschaft



- und der möglichen Begegnung mit einem Mann,” *JdI* 117 (2002): 1–79.
- 67 Pfisterer-Haas, “Mädchen und Frauen am Wasser,” 42. The *alabastron* (or *alabastos*) is the feminine equivalent of the athlete’s *aryballos*, and had explicitly sexual connotations (J. Henderson, “The Lekythos and *Frogs* 1200–1248,” *HSCP* 76 [1972]: 136–137; reiterated in J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy* [New York, 1991] 120; Kilmer, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases*, 87; Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus*, 120). On perfume, see pp. 62–66.
- 68 On frontality and *eros*, see F. Frontisi-Ducroux, “Eros, Desire, and the Gaze,” in N. B. Kampen, ed., *Sexuality in Ancient Art* (Cambridge, 1996), 81–100.
- 69 R. F. Sutton, “The Invention of the Female Nude: Zeuxis, Vase-Painting, and the Kneeling Bather,” in Oakley and Palagia, eds., *Athenian Potters and Painters*, vol. 2, 270–279; also Sutton, “Female Bathers and the Emergence of the Female Nude in Greek Art,” in Kosso and Scott, eds., *The Nature and Function of Water, Baths, Bathing, and Hygiene from Antiquity through the Renaissance*, 61–86; U. Kreilinger, “To Be or Not to Be a Hetaira: Female Nudity in Classical Athens,” in S. Schroer, ed., *Images and Gender: Contributions to the Hermeneutics of Reading Ancient Art* (= *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 220) (Göttingen, 2006), 229–237; Pfisterer-Haas, “Mädchen und Frauen am Wasser,” 40–47; Ferrari, *Figures of Speech*, 47–52; V. Sabetai, “Aspects of Nuptial and Genre Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens: Issues of Interpretation and Methodology,” in J. H. Oakley et al., eds., *Athenian Potters and Painters* (Oxford, 1997), 320–21; Durand and Lissarrague, “Un lieu d’image?” 96–99. Like women’s athletics, bridal baths represent a ritual of transformation (see Chapter 7, p. 208).
- 70 L. Villard, “Le bain dans la médecine hippocratique,” in R. Ginouvès, et al., *L’eau, la santé et la maladie dans le monde grec* (*BCH* Supplement 28) (Paris, 1994), 52–59.
- 71 The theoretical literature on the ideological aspects of diet and exercise in modern cultures is extensive. See, in particular, S. Bordo, *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture and the Body* (Berkeley, CA, 1993); B. S. Turner, “The Discourse of Diet,” in M. Featherstone, et al., eds., *The Body: Social Process and Cultural Theory* (London, 1991), 157–169, with earlier references.
- 72 For bathing practices as a means of social distinction, see A. Masquelier, “Dirt, Undress, and Difference: An Introduction,” in A. Masquelier, ed., *Dirt, Undress, and Difference: Critical Perspectives on the Body’s Surface* (Bloomington, IN, 2005), 1–33, with earlier references.
- 73 For a general overview of the aromas of antiquity, see C. Classen, et al., *Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell* (London, 1994), 13–50; B. A. Caseau, “*Euodia*: The Use and Meaning of Fragrances in the Ancient World and Their Christianization (100–900 AD),” PhD thesis, Princeton University, 1994. For the Roman world, with some reference to the Greek, see D. S. Potter, “Odor and Power in the Roman Empire,” in Porter, ed., *Constructions of the Classical Body*, 169–189. Various ancient smells are brought to life in the charming scratch-and-sniff book for children: *Greek Grime*, in the series *Smelly Old History* by Mary Dobson.
- As with other aspects of dress, one’s perception of scent is culturally determined. For a comparison in modern Turkey, see M. R. Breu, “The Role of Scents and the Body in Turkey,” in C. D. Johnson and H. B. Foster, eds., *Dress Sense: Emotional and Sensory Experiences of the Body and Clothes* (Oxford, 2007), 60–71.
- 74 For a phenomenological analysis of ancient perfumes, see L. Bodiou and V. Mehl, “‘Tel est cet objet de luxe, de tous le plus superflu’: De l’envie à l’excès, savoir se parfumer dans le monde gréco-romain,” in Bodiou et al., eds., *Parures et artifices: le corps exposé dans l’Antiquité*, 57–77. See also L. Bodiou, et al., *Parfums et odeurs dans l’antiquité* (Rennes, 2008). For a general introduction and recipes for recreating ancient Greek perfumes, see S. Pointer, *The Artifice of Beauty: A History and Practical Guide to Perfumes and Cosmetics* (Stroud, 2005), 41–48, and 212–213. See also E. Paszthory, *Salben, Schminken und Parfüme im Altertum: Herstellungsmethoden und Anwendungsbereiche im östlichen Mittelmeerraum* (= *Antike Welt* 21) (Mainz, 1990); M. Dayagi-Mendels, *Perfumes and Cosmetics in the Ancient World* (Jerusalem, 1989); A. d’Ambrosio, *Aphrodite’s Scents* (Trento, 1986).



- 75 Some ancient perfumes contained pigments (Theophrastus, *Concerning Odors*, 31), which may have been visible on the skin. See also the discussion of *milto* p. 259, n. 121 this chapter.
- 76 Stieber suggests that Phrasikleia's *stephane* is made of "real" flowers, while the necklace in the form of tiny *aryballoi* is a "representation" of the idea of scent" (*The Poetics of Appearance in the Attic Korai*, 158–60). For further discussion of Phrasikleia's jewelry, see [Chapter 5](#), pp. 140–151.
- 77 For representations of *alabastra* in vase painting, see P. Badinou, *La Laine et le Parfum: épinetra et alabastres forme, iconographie et fonction* (Louvain, 2003), 59–76. An example of the *aryballos* in relief sculpture is the Archaic grave stele of a youth and little girl in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 11.185. Another shape used to contain perfume is the *plemochoe*, depicted for example in [Figure 7.8](#).
- 78 Perfume shops (as well as barbers' shops [p. 69], and cobblers' shops [[Chapter 5](#), p. 161]) were popular meeting places in the Agora and served as centers for the exchange of news and gossip, especially for younger elite men (S. Lewis, "Barbers' Shops and Perfume Shops: 'Symposia without Wine,'" in A. Powell, ed., *The Greek World* [London, 1995], 432–441).
- 79 The extensive overseas trade of Greek perfume vessels is beyond the scope of the present study, but for an analysis of the consumption of Corinthian *aryballoi* as a reflection of social identity, see M. Shanks, *Art and the Greek City State* (Cambridge, 1999), 169–194.
- 80 As noted by H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia: A Study of Corinthian Art in the Archaic Period* (Oxford, 1931) (repr. College Park, 1971), 288, no. 486.
- 81 W. R. Biers, et al., *Lost Scents: Investigations of Corinthian "Plastic" Vases by Gas Chromatography-Mass Spectrometry* (= *MASCA Research Papers in Science and Technology* 11) (Philadelphia, 1994), with earlier bibliography.
- 82 J.-P. Brun, "The Production of Perfumes in Antiquity: The Cases of Delos and Paestum," *AJA* 104.2 (2000): 282.
- 83 For the literary sources on perfumes and scents in Greece, see especially P. Faure, *Parfums et Aromates de l'Antiquité* (Paris, 1987), 147–206; M. Detienne, *The Gardens of Adonis: Spices in Greek Mythology*, trans. J. Lloyd (Atlantic Highlands, NJ, 1977) (orig. publ. as: *Les jardins l'Adonis* [Paris, 1972]), 60–71; R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, vol. 3 (Leiden, 1955), 24–38.
- 84 S. Lilja, *The Treatment of Odours in the Poetry of Antiquity* (= *Commentationes humanarum litterarum* 49) (Helsinki 1972), 58–96.
- 85 See discussion in Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, 28–34.
- 86 The perfumes described in these works have been recreated in the modern scientific laboratory by G. Donato (*Aphrodite's Scents: Aromatic Journey through Experimental Archaeology* [Florence, 1984]). See also Pointer, *The Artifice of Beauty*, esp. 245–248.
- 87 On the Mycenaean perfume industry, see C. Shelmerdine, *The Perfume Industry of Mycenaean Pylos* (Göteborg, 1985).
- 88 Faure, *Parfums et Aromates de l'Antiquité*, 162. The term *muron*, referring to perfumed unguent, is related to *murra*, which is itself a Semitic loan word (Lilja, *The Treatment of Odours*, 60–61). The origins of perfume production can be traced to Mesopotamia and Egypt (Brun, "The Production of Perfumes in Antiquity," 278–279). For Egyptian perfumes, see L. Manniche, *Sacred Luxuries: Fragrance, Aromatherapy, and Cosmetics in Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca, 1999) (orig. publ. as: *Egyptian Luxuries: Fragrance, aromatherapy, and cosmetics in pharaonic times* (Cairo, 1999)).
- 89 Plutarch says nothing of a ban on perfumes; indeed, it has been argued that the production of perfumed oils actually increased as a result of the Solonian reforms (P.V. Stanley, *The Economic Reforms of Solon* [= *Pharos* 11] [St. Katharinen, 1999], 249–250). Pliny claims that a perfume called "panathenaic" had been popular for a long period (*Natural History*, 13.6), though we cannot be sure when it was introduced.
- 90 Pliny claims that perfume was invented by the Persians to conceal their foul stench, and that the Greeks did not adopt it until the campaigns of Alexander (*Natural History*, 13.3).
- 91 For blond hair, see p. 70.
- 92 See the excellent synthesis by L. Bodiou and V. Mehl, "De Myrrhinè à Marilyn: se vêtir, se parfumer, se montrer ou le parfum comme parure," in Gherchanoc and Huet, eds., *S'habiller, se déshabiller dans les mondes anciens*, 13–40.

- 93 J. Rusten, ed., *The Birth of Comedy: Texts, Documents, and Art from Athenian Comic Competitions*, 486–280, trans. J. Henderson, et al. (Baltimore, MD, 2011), 497–498.
- 94 Earlier in the play, Lysistrata names perfumes, together with yellow dresses, slippers, rouge, and see-through *chitones*, as means of feminine allurements (47). Myrrhina, meaning little myrtle, is appropriate here as myrtle is especially associated with Aphrodite and was used to scent women's perfume (see later in the chapter).
- 95 For the anointing of hair with perfume, see Lilja, *The Treatment of Odours*, 82–83. Perfume could also be applied to the beard, mustache, and eyebrows (as described in the passage of Antiphanes, earlier in this chapter).  
For the use of perfumed oil as a sexual lubricant, see Henderson, "The Lekythos and Frogs 1200–1248," 136–137.
- 96 For example, Aristophanes, *Assemblywomen*, 841–842.
- 97 K. Gilhuly, *The Feminine Matrix of Sex and Gender in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 2009), 113–115.
- 98 *Megalion*, invented by the Athenian perfumer Megallos, was a popular scent composed of myrrh, burnt resin (probably pine), cassia, and cinnamon, and was tinted pink with the addition of alkanet (also used for rouge, see p. 67). For a modern recipe for *megalion*, see Pointer, *The Artifice of Beauty*, 212–213.
- 99 Clothes were also perfumed, especially at the Anthesteria festival (see Chapter 7, p. 222 and Figure 7.14).
- 100 See p. 64, on the excessive use of perfumes by barbarians.
- 101 Biers, et al., *Lost Scents*, 32. For medical uses of ancient perfumes, see B. Caseau, "Les usages médicaux de l'encens et des parfums: un aspect de la médecine populaire antique et de sa christianisation," in S. Bazin–Tacchella, et al., eds., *Air, miasmes et contagion: les épidémies dans l'Antiquité et au Moyen Âge* (Langres, 2001), 75–85.
- 102 Biers, et al., *Lost Scents*, 25. This discrepancy may be due to the fact that the vessels were found in graves and thus contained oil used for funerary ritual.
- 103 Lilja, *The Treatment of Odours in the Poetry of Antiquity*, 120–148.
- 104 For further references and full discussion of scatological humor in Attic comedy, see Henderson, *The Maculate Muse*, 187–203.
- 105 Translation: W. W. Fortenbaugh, et al., eds., *Theophrastus of Eresus: On Sweat, on Dizziness and on Fatigue* (Leiden, 2003), 27–29.
- 106 Euripides, *Medea* 1074–1075; *Trojan Women* 757–758; [Aristotle], *Problems*, 4.12.877b20–35, 4.24.879a22.
- 107 This statement correlates with the author's attitudes toward women's exercise (pp. 59–60) and cosmetics (pp. 67–68).
- 108 For the relationship between feminine sexuality and perfumes in modern culture, see C. B. Cohen, "Olfactory Constitution of the Postmodern Body: Nature Challenged, Nature Adorned," in F. E. Mascia-Lees and P. Sharpe, eds., *Tattoo, Torture, Mutilation, and Adornment: The Denaturalization of the Body in Culture and Text* (Albany, 1992), 48–78.
- 109 The most extensive study of Greek cosmetics remains B. Grillet, *Les femmes et les fards dans l'antiquité grecque* (Lyon, 1975). For an excellent general introduction, see F. Gherchanoc, "Maquillage et identité: du visage au masque, de la décence à l'outrage, de la parure à l'artifice," in Bodiou et al., eds., *Parures et artifices: le corps exposé dans l'Antiquité*, 23–44. See also Pointer, *The Artifice of Beauty*, 33–35; M. Saiko, *Cura dabit faciem: Kosmetik im Altertum, literarische, kulturhistorische und medizinische Aspekte* (= Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium 66) (Trier, 2005), 39–127; Paszthory, *Salben, Schminken und Parfüme im Altertum*, 43–47; Dayagi-Mendels, *Perfumes and Cosmetics in the Ancient World*; Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, 38–43. For Roman cosmetics, see especially A. Richlin, "Making Up a Woman: The Face of Roman Gender," in Eilberg-Schwarz and Doniger, eds., *Off with Her Head!*, 185–213.
- 110 See, for example, M. Sturgeon, *Isthmia 4: Sculpture I, 1952–1967* (Princeton, NJ, 1987), 39–41. The assertion of R. Corson that the polychromy of the Archaic marble female head from Ephesus in the British Museum (1873.5–5.43 [Sculpture B 89]) represents "eye makeup ... astonishingly like that of the late 1960s" (*Fashions in Makeup from Ancient to Modern Times*<sup>2</sup> [London, 2003], 38 and fig. 32) is not supported by the evidence.

- 111 For women and mirrors, see [Chapter 5](#), pp. 165–167.
- 112 For a critical analysis of the literary sources, see R. Resinski, “Cosmos and Cosmetics: Constituting an Adorned Female Body in Ancient Greek Literature,” PhD thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1998, esp. 141–193.
- 113 Translation: Pomeroy, *Xenophon, Oeconomicus*, 161. This is followed by the passage extolling the virtues of housework as a form of exercise (discussed on pp. 59–60). Cf. Xenophon, *Memorabilia* (2.1.22), in which the personification of Vice is identified as a highly made up woman.
- 114 For example Aristophanes, *Assemblywomen*, 878, 928, 1072; *Wealth*, 1064. The notion that older women might appear younger by means of cosmetics persists in later periods, as evidenced by this epigram in the *Palatine Anthology*: “You dye your hair, but you will never dye your old age, or smooth out the wrinkles of your cheeks. Then don’t plaster your face with white lead, so that you have not a face, but a mask; for it serves no purpose. Why are you out of your wits? Rouge and paste will never turn Hecuba into Helen” (11.408).
- For the “cult of youth” in contemporary society, see K. Woodward, “Youthfulness as a Masquerade,” *Discourse* 11.1 (1988–1989): 119–142.
- 115 For the ancient sources on the preparation of cosmetics, see Grillet, *Les femmes et les fards dans l’antiquité grecque*, 32–51 (including many Roman and later sources). The three primary Classical types are described in Theophrastus: *psimythion* (*On Stones*, 56); *miltos* (*On Stones*, 51); *anchousa* (*On Plants*, 7.8.3). It is unclear whether cosmetics were also applied to the eyes and lips during the Classical period. The evidence suggests that cosmetic use became increasingly widespread in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and involved more complex preparations and methods of application.
- 116 See discussion in Grillet, *Les femmes et les fards dans l’antiquité grecque*, 129–160.
- 117 T. L. Shear, “Psimythion,” in *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps on His Seventieth Birthday* (Princeton, NJ, 1936), 314–317. Applicators and spoons may also have been employed with perfumes.
- 118 Which may explain the general lack of interest in cosmetics among Greek authors: it was not part of their personal experience (Grillet, *Les femmes et les fards dans l’antiquité grecque*, 87–88).
- 119 Thomas, “Constraints and Contradictions,” 11–12. Compare the use of whitening cosmetics in modern Japan: M. Ashikari, “Cultivating Japanese Whiteness: The ‘Whitening’ Cosmetics Boom and Japanese Identity,” *Journal of Material Culture* 10.1 (2005): 73–91.
- 120 Euphiletus’ comment that she had worn makeup despite the fact that her brother had died less than thirty days before has been taken to mean that cosmetics are not appropriate for periods of mourning. Cosmetics were also banned from sanctuaries; see [Chapter 7](#), pp. 215–216.
- 121 P. Hannah, “The Cosmetic Use of Red Ochre (*Miltos*),” in L. Cleland, et al., eds., *Colour in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford, 2004), 100–105; *eadem*, “The Reality of Greek Male Nudity,” 32–33.
- 122 Translation adapted from Pomeroy, *Xenophon, Oeconomicus*, 161. Theophrastus identifies *miltos* and *andreikelon* as varieties of red pigments, the latter used by artists to render the darker skin tone of male figures (*On Stones*, 51).
- 123 Compare the passage in Plato’s *Phaedrus*, in which Socrates denounces the artificial coloring of the skin to approximate the appearance of a man who has exercised in the sun (Plato, *Phaedrus*, 239 c–d).
- 124 M. S. Cyrino, “Heroes in D(u)ress: Transvestism and Power in the Myths of Herakles and Achilles,” *Arethusa* 31.2 (1998): 218–219.
- 125 L. Negrin, “Cosmetics and the Female Body: A Critical Appraisal of Poststructuralist Theories of Masquerade,” *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 3.1 (2000): 83–101; J. Craik, *The Face of Fashion: Cultural Studies in Fashion* (London, 1994), 153–164.
- 126 The theoretical literature on hair is extensive. A good introduction is Synnott, *The Body Social*, 103–127 (= rev. version of: “Shame and Glory: A Sociology of Hair,” *British Journal of Sociology* 38.3 [1987] 381–413), with earlier bibliography. See also the collected essays in G. Biddle-Perry and S. Cheang, eds., *Hair: Styling, Culture and Fashion* (Oxford, 2008).

- 127 Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 121; P. Hershman, “Hair, Sex and Dirt,” *Man*, n.s. 9.2 (1974): 274–298.
- 128 M. M. Levine, “The Gendered Grammar of Ancient Mediterranean Hair,” in Eilberg-Schwarz and Doniger, eds., *Off with Her Head!*, 76–130. For the social significance of hair in the ancient Near East, see S. Niditch, “My Brother Esau Is a Hairy Man”: *Hair and Identity in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 2008).
- 129 Moisture was also the cause of head lice (*Problems*, 1.16). On body lice, see p. 79; on pubic lice, p. 81.
- 130 Levine, “The Gendered Grammar of Ancient Mediterranean Hair,” 112, n. 15. For the significance of the head as the source of generation, see R. B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought about the Body, the Mind, the Soul, the World, Time, and Fate* (Cambridge, 1951), 108–113.
- 131 The term *kosmos* originally meant “combing,” “haired,” and later acquired the more general meanings of “arrangement, ordering” on the one hand, and “adornment, beautification” on the other (J. Puhvel, “The Origins of Greek *Kosmos* and Latin *Mundus*,” *AJP* 97.2 [1976]: 159).
- 132 The disaffected: Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 1261; philosophers: Aristophanes *Clouds*, 332, 835–836; mourning: M. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*<sup>2</sup> (Lanham, MD, 2002), 8; old people: see pp. 47–48.
- Cephalic hair was often shorn as a sign of mourning: see [Chapter 7](#), pp. 227–228.
- 133 Mary Douglas noted the same phenomenon in modern culture: *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (London, 1970), 81.
- 134 The classic study of barbers remains F.W. Nicolson, “Greek and Roman Barbers,” *HSCP* 2 (1891): 41–56.
- 135 The widespread patronage of barbershops in later periods is evident in Artemidorus’ statement that to dream of having one’s hair cut by a barber is a good sign, because no one ever cuts his own hair unless he is poor or in difficult circumstances (*On Dreams*, 1.22).
- 136 See Lewis, “Barbers’ Shops and Perfume Shops”; n. 78 this chapter.
- 137 The evidence for these supplementary services is stronger for the Roman period. But Xenophon notes that a man “removes or lets another remove from his body whatever is useless and unprofitable. He removes his own nails, hair, corns: he lets the surgeon cut and cauterize him, and, aches and pains notwithstanding, feels bound to thank and fee him for it” (*Memorabilia*, 1.2.54).
- For nail clipping in particular, see B. Lincoln, “Treatment of Hair and Fingernails among the Indo-Europeans,” *History of Religions* 16.4 (1977): 351–362. The so-called Hesiodic rules at the end of the *Works and Days* warn against nail cutting at festivals (743–744); the prohibition is echoed by Pythagoras (N. 49). R. Parker notes: “nails and hair are dead matter, and their cutting suits a funeral more than a feast” (*Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* [Oxford, 1983], 295). For the desirability of nails trimmed short, see Theophrastus, *Characters*, 19. Closely trimmed nails are pervasive in sculpture and vase painting. Pausanias reports, on the Athenian Acropolis, a bronze statue with silver fingernails by the fifth-century sculptor Kleoitas (1.24.3) (P. Reuterswärd, *Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik: Griechenland und Rom* [Stockholm, 1960], 120, n. 291).
- 138 For shears of various kinds, see G. C. Boon, “‘Tonsor Humanus’: Razor and Toilet-Knife in Antiquity,” *Britannia* 22 (1991): 21–32. For combs, see H. G. Buchholz, “Ägäische Käämme,” *Acta Praehistorica et Archeologia* 16/17 (1984/1985): 91–142. Fine-toothed combs may have been employed for the extraction of lice as opposed to hairdressing (see this chapter, n. 129). For mirrors, see [Chapter 5](#), pp. 165–167.
- 139 For example, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antiken-Sammlung, 6683b (R. A. Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines* [Princeton, NJ, 1986], 89, fig. 95); Indiana University Art Museum 7982. Note that the hair is cut with a pair of unhinged blades, not scissors (Boon, “Tonsor Humanus,” 26). For ritual haircutting, see [Chapter 7](#), p. 204.
- 140 Scenes of hair washing are more common (see discussion of bathing practices, this chapter, pp. 61–62). Hairstyling, like the application of cosmetics, does not require that the subject be undressed, which may explain the absence of these scenes in vase painting. On the other hand, the literary sources are likewise silent on the subject, so perhaps it was not a topic of general interest.
- 141 See [Chapter 7](#), p. 208, on bridal baths.

- 142 See [Chapter 7](#), p. 210.
- 143 For Roman wigs, see especially E. Bartman, “Hair and the Artifice of Roman Female Adornment,” *AJA* 105.1 (2001): 1–25. Hairpieces made of real human hair have been recovered in Roman Britain, Gaul (see Bartman, fig. 5), Egypt, and Judaea. The Vindolanda finds of hair-moss formerly identified as wigs are more likely caps (J. P. Wild, “A Hairmoss Cap from Vindolanda,” in G. Jaacks and K. Tidow, eds., *Archaeologische Textilfunde: Textilsymposium Neumünster* 4–7.5.1993 [= *North European Symposium for Archaeological Textiles V*], [Neumünster, 1994], 61–68). Wigs of all periods have been recovered in Egypt and were probably worn in an effort to combat head lice (J. Fletcher, “A Tale of Hair, Wigs and Lice,” *Egyptian Archaeology* 5 [1994]: 31–33; see also *eadem*, “The Decorated Body in Ancient Egypt: Hairstyles, Cosmetics and Tattoos,” in L. Cleland, et al., eds., *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World* [Oxford, 2005], 3–8, with further bibliography).
- 144 Pentheus’ “long hair” in Euripides’ *Bacchae* (831) may have been achieved by means of a wig (E. R. Dodds, *Euripides Bacchae* [Oxford, 1960], 177), or it may represent the character’s own long hair (R. Seaford, *Euripides Bacchae* [Warminster, 1997], 214). Wigs were commonly employed in stage costume (Stone, *Costume in Aristophanic Comedy*, 60–71).
- 145 For possible wigs worn by the *korai*, see M. Stieber, *Poetics of Appearance in the Attic Korai* (Austin, 2004), 64–66, 133.
- 146 Stieber, *Poetics of Appearance in the Attic Korai*, 66–68, 133. The literary sources for artificial hair color are all late. For polychromy of hair on Archaic and Early Classical sculpture generally, see V. Brinkmann, *Die Polychromie der archaischen und frühklassischen Skulptur* (Munich, 2003), esp. 47–48.
- 147 Most of these have focused on the Archaic period: J. Strenz, *Männerfrisuren der Spätarchaik* (Mainz, 2001); V. Brinkmann, *Frisuren in Stein: Arbeitsweisen frühgriechischer Bildhauer* (Munich, 1998); D. D. Rohner, “A Study of the Hair Styles from Greek Korai and Other Female Figures from 650–480 BCE: A Dating Tool to Clarify Workshops, Regional Styles and Chronology,” PhD thesis, University of Colorado at Boulder, 1993; E. B. Harrison, “Greek Sculpted Coiffures and Ritual Haircuts,” in R. Hägg, et al., eds., *Early Greek Cult Practice. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26–29 June, 1986* (Stockholm, 1988), 247–254.
- 148 For hairstyles named by the lexicographers, see D. D. Leitao, “Adolescent Hair-Growing and Hair-Cutting Rituals in Ancient Greece: A Sociological Approach,” in D. B. Dodd and C. A. Faraone, eds., *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives: New Critical Perspectives* (London, 2003), 120–126; Nicolson, “Greek and Roman Barbers,” 44–51. The *skaplion* named by Pollux (2.29) is usually translated as “bowl cut” (e.g., Aristophanes, *Birds* 806; *Women at the Thesmophoria*, 838).
- 149 For hairstyles as indicators of age in the Aegean Bronze Age, see Davis, “Youth and Age in the Thera Frescoes”; Koehl, “The Chieftain Cup and a Minoan Rite of Passage.”
- 150 For hair as a means of social control, of women in particular, see Levine, “The Gendered Grammar of Ancient Mediterranean Hair”; cf. Bartman, “Hair and the Artifice of Roman Female Adornment,” 2–3.
- 151 Harrison, “Greek Sculpted Coiffures and Ritual Haircuts,” 248–253; see also [Chapter 7](#), p. 204 for boys and p. 207 for girls.
- 152 Rolled hair: e.g., “Kritios Boy,” ca. 480 BCE, Acropolis Museum 698, Athens. Arming scenes in late Archaic vase painting depict men rolling up their hair, presumably to keep it out of the way during battle (J. Boardman, “Heroic Haircuts,” *CQ* 23.2 [1973]: 196–197). Bound braids: e.g., “Blond Boy,” ca. 480 BCE, Acropolis Museum 689, Athens. Ridgway notes the popularity of this style in Early Classical sculpture (*The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture*, 17).
- 153 Strenz, *Männerfrisuren der Spätarchaik*, 82–88. The longer style persisted in east Greece, where athletics never achieved the same popularity as on the mainland. Long hair also identifies heroic figures, such as warriors, and some ostentatious older men.
- 154 The various forms of women’s headgear are discussed in [Chapter 5](#), pp. 154–160.
- 155 Stears, “Dead Women’s Society,” 119. The central braid hairstyle shared by both boys



- and girls in Hellenistic sculpture is absent from Archaic and Classical iconography. For Hellenistic examples, see Neils and Oakley, eds., *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*, 141, fig. 2; and cat. nos. 87, 123, 125, 126.
- 156 The ages of the figures are indicated by physiognomy; see [Chapter 2](#), pp. 44–46.
- 157 The exaggerated folds of the *himation* at the nape of her neck might also allude to the potential use of this garment as a veil (see p. 294, n. 197). Note that the hair of the attendant is also covered. For the social distinctions of women's headgear, see [Chapter 5](#), pp. 154–160.
- 158 This feature is limited to the iconography of Athenian vase painting from ca. 470 to 450; see L. B.-Q. van Ufford, "La coiffure des jeunes dames d'Athènes au second quart du 5<sup>ème</sup> siècle av. J.-C." in H. A. G. Brijder, et al., eds., *Enthousiasmos: Essays on Greek and Related Pottery presented to J.M. Hemelrijk* (Amsterdam, 1986), 135–140; also Lewis, *The Athenian Woman*, 27–28.
- 159 Peschel, *Die Hetäre bei Symposium und Komos*, 358–359.
- 160 Oakley, "Some 'Other' Members of the Athenian Household," 227–247. While not all non-elite women have short hair, no elite woman is represented with her hair cut short – except, perhaps, in mourning (e.g., the figure of Kriton in [Figure 7.18](#)). Perhaps we should understand the cropped hair of slaves as a sign that they are perpetually in mourning?
- Compare the short hair of Spartan women, p. 75.
- 161 The "adulterer's cut" referred to by Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 847–849, may in fact refer to depilation (see p. 81).
- 162 For men's headgear, see [Chapter 5](#), p. 160.
- 163 Brandt, *Wird auch silbern mein Haar*, 17–85; Emery, "Old-Age Iconography in Archaic Greek Art" (esp. 18–21 on baldness and white hair as indicators of age); Pfisterer-Haas, *Darstellungen alter Frauen in der griechischen Kunst*.
- 164 Receding hairlines are also common in Attic grave reliefs; baldness is less frequent. Gray hair was likely indicated with paint (Bergemann, *Demos und Thanatos*, 102–105; Meyer, "Alte Männer auf attischen Grabdenkmälern," 50–59). Old women in grave reliefs are sometimes, though not always, identified by a shorter hairstyle, which might reflect less luxuriant hair growth (Pfisterer-Haas, "Ältere Frauen auf attischen Grabdenkmälern," 181–182).
- 165 Hair loss can also result from sickness: e.g., Theocritus 2.88. For images of old men with shaved heads as an indicator of mourning, see this chapter, n. 178.
- 166 Falkner, *The Poetics of Old Age in Greek Epic, Lyric, and Tragedy*, 142–144; L. Woodbury, "Gold Hair and Grey, or the Game of Love: Anacreon fr. 13:358 PMG, 13 Gentili," *TAPA* 109 (1979): 277–287.
- 167 Irwin, *Colour Terms in Greek Poetry*, 194–196.
- 168 On this passage, see also [Chapter 4](#), p. 102; for the *tettix*, see [Chapter 5](#), p. 141.
- 169 Bergemann, *Demos und Thanatos*, 102–105; Meyer, "Alte Männer auf attischen Grabdenkmälern," 59–74.
- 170 For example, *Knights*, 1121; *Clouds*, 332, 348–350; *Wasps*, 466; *Birds*, 1281–1282.
- 171 C. Ehrhardt, "Hair in Ancient Greece," *EchCl* 15 (1971): 15. Compare Lysias' speech in defense of Mantiitheus: "One should not hate a man because he wears his hair long" (16.18).
- 172 Compare Spartan girls' athletics, this chapter, p. 59. On Spartan hairstyles, see E. David, "Sparta's Social Hair," *Eranos* 90 (1992): 11–21.
- 173 The late date of the literary evidence for boys' short hair (Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 16.6) is countered by two Laconian grave reliefs of the late Archaic and early Classical periods, respectively, representing boys with short hair. See L. F. Fitzhardinge, *The Spartans* (London, 1980), 82, fig. 96; 84, fig. 98.
- 174 Several bronze statuettes of the sixth and fifth centuries depict Spartan soldiers with long hair and a beard (discussed later in this chapter); see Fitzhardinge, *The Spartans*, p. 99, fig. 128; pp. 102–103, figs. 134–135; pp. 104–105, figs. 136–138.
- 175 K. Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum* 2 (Frankfurt, 1975), 211.
- 176 P. Cartledge, "Spartan Wives: Liberation or Licence?" *CQ* 31 (1981): 101, n. 102 [repr. in P. Cartledge, *Spartan Reflections* (London, 2001), 122, n. 102]. Iconographic confirmation of



- this practice is not certain: see Fitzhardinge, *The Spartans*, p. 85, fig. 99 and p. 101, fig. 131.
- 177 J.-P. Vernant, *Mortals and Immortals: Collected Essays*, ed. F. I. Zeitlin (Princeton, NJ, 1991), 120.
- 178 For images of old Greek men with shaved heads as an indicator of mourning, see D. J. R. Williams, “Close Shaves,” in H. A. G. Brijder, ed., *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery* (Amsterdam, 1984), 275–281.
- 179 M. C. Miller, “The Myth of Bousiris: Ethnicity and Art,” in Cohen, ed., *Not the Classical Ideal*, 430–431 and fig. 16.7.
- 180 On the headgear of barbarians, see Chapter 5, p. 160.
- 181 D. Tsiafakis, “The Allure and Repulsion of Thracians in the Art of Classical Athens,” in Cohen, ed., *Not the Classical Ideal*, 370–371 and fig. 14.3. Red hair was also used to mark other ethnic groups as foreign, especially Scythians (Tsiafakis, “The Allure and Repulsion of Thracians in the Art of Classical Athens,” 372).
- 182 Tsiafakis, “The Allure and Repulsion of Thracians in the Art of Classical Athens,” 374–375, and fig. 14.5.
- 183 Snowden, *Before Color Prejudice*, 14–15 and figs. 16–21; *idem*, “Iconographical Evidence on the Black Populations in Greco-Roman Antiquity,” 133–187; *idem*, *Blacks in Antiquity*, 22–29 and figs. 9–39, 80–81, 88–93.
- 184 Translation: Barnes, *The Complete Works of Aristotle*. The author of this treatise comments extensively on hair: cf. 806<sup>b</sup>1.6–17, 807<sup>a</sup>1.32; 807<sup>b</sup>1.5; 807<sup>b</sup>1.18; 808<sup>a</sup>1.19; 808<sup>a</sup>1.22–23; 808<sup>b</sup>1.5; and this chapter, pp. 76–77.
- 185 Evidence for the removal of unwanted facial hair by women is wanting, but presumably this occurred in antiquity as today, by means of plucking or depilation.
- 186 The majority of specimens by far date to the Roman period, when beardlessness was in fashion; see Boon, “‘Tonsor Humanus,’” 27–32. In Aristophanes’ *Women at the Thesmophoria*, Euripides borrows a razor from Agathon in order to shave the kinsman in a humorous scene of male-to-female transvestism (215–268; see this chapter p. 70, n. 144). Although the passage may imply the use of razors by men, the joke plays upon Agathon’s noted effeminacy.
- The Greek preference for beards may have been in part for practical reasons: an experimental shave using a bronze blade with hot water took forty-five minutes (U. Ruoff, “Von der schärfte bronzzeitlicher ‘Rasiermesser,’” *ArchKorrBl* 13 (1983), 459, with ill.) On the other hand, razors might have been employed for partial removal of facial hair, e.g., the Rampin Horseman (Louvre Ma 3104), which has a beard but no moustache. Certainly razors were required to achieve the beardless styles of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.
- 187 Beard as indicator of adulthood: Euripides, *Phoenician Women* 62; *Suppliant Women* 1219. I thank Molly Levine for these references.
- 188 G. Ferrari, *Figures of Speech: Men and Maidens in Ancient Greece* (Chicago, 2002), 135–137; *eadem*, “Figures of Speech: The Picture of Aidos,” *Métis* 5.1–2 (1990): 185–204.
- 189 This notion persisted well into the Hellenistic period: see S. L. Tarán, “Eisi Tricheis: An Erotic Motif in the Greek Anthology,” *JHS* 105 (1985): 90–107. It is possible that young men extended the period of beardlessness artificially by means of shaving (as suggested by Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, 144).
- The exact age at which the beard first appeared was likely much later in antiquity than it is today, as a result of improvements in diet and nutrition. See H. Møller, “The Accelerated Development of Youth: Beard Growth as a Biological Marker,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29 (1987): 748–762, esp. 750–751 on ancient Greece.
- 190 This convention persisted for images of philosophers, even after beardlessness became widespread following the model of Alexander the Great (Zanker, *The Mask of Socrates*, 108–109).
- In the divine realm, Dionysos is frequently represented in vase painting with an unkempt beard, implying that the wine god “belongs to the uncivilized world rather than to the city or to Olympus” (T. H. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens* [Oxford, 1997], 93).
- 191 Sparkes, “Some Greek Images of Others,” 137; M. F. Vos, *Scythian Archers in Archaic Attic Vase-Painting* (Groningen, 1963), 56, nos. 131 (pl. 17b), 41 (pl. 18c) and 331.
- 192 R. Barcan, *Nudity: A Cultural Anatomy* (Oxford, 2004), 25–30, 144–150.
- 193 Barcan, *Nudity*, 144.

- 194 Translation: Barnes, *The Complete Works of Aristotle*.
- 195 Brinkmann, *Die Polychromie der archaischen und frühklassischen Skulptur*.
- 196 Dover attributes the lack of chest and pubic hair on adult men in vase painting to “a consistent tendency to assimilate adult males to young males” (*Greek Homosexuality*, 71).
- 197 For razors, see Boon, “‘Tonsor Humanus,’” 27–32. “Razor” is included in a long list of women’s personal effects in Aristophanes’ *Second Thesmophoriazusae* (Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy I*, 662–663).
- 198 See most recently D. Laverne, “L’épilation féminine en Grèce ancienne,” in Bodiou et al., eds., *Parures et artifices: le corps exposé dans l’Antiquité*, 99–110.
- 199 The literary sources are collected in D. M. Bain, “*Katonáke ton choiron apotetilménas* (Aristophanes, *Ekklesiazousai* 724),” *LCM* 7.1 (1982): 7–10, with *addenda, corrigenda, retractanda* in *LCM* 7.8 (1982): 111. See also M. I. Davies, “Merkins and Modes,” in C. Bérard, et al., eds., *Images et société en Grèce ancienne: L’iconographie comme méthode d’analyse* (Lausanne, 1987), 243–248; M. Kilmer, “Genital Phobia and Depilation,” *JHS* 102 (1982): 104–112; J.-P. Descoeudres, “*Hêdistos daimôn*,” *Antichthon* 15 (1981): 8–14.
- Several passages in Aristophanes refer to the plucking of body hairs, without specifying the pubes (e.g., *Frogs*, 516). The reference in *Assemblywomen* to an old woman who is “tweezed and plastered” (904) may refer to depilation, or perhaps tweezing of the eyebrows (R. G. Ussher, *Aristophanes Ecclesiazusae* [Oxford, 1973], 200, *ad* 904). The hairs plucked by Dicaeopolis in the *Acharnians* (31) are not likely pubic hairs; Henderson takes them to be hairs in the beard (Loeb translation).
- 200 On the erotic connotations of lamps, see Davies, “Merkins and Modes,” 245; Frontisi-Ducroux, “Eros, Desire, and the Gaze,” 90.
- 201 On depilation by means of plucking, see Descoeudres, “*Hêdistos daimôn*,” 10.
- 202 On this passage, see Bain, *Katonáke ton choiron apotetilménas*, who reaches the same conclusion as to the meaning of *katonake* as Kilmer, “Genital Phobia,” 106.
- 203 On feminine nudity, see Chapter 6.
- 204 Kilmer, “Genital Phobia,” pls. 1a, 1c, 2a, 2b (visible hair); pl. 1b, (complete depilation); pl. 1d (re-growth of stubble following depilation).
- 205 Curiously, none of these is considered by Kilmer in his study of depilation. A rarely illustrated kylix in the Getty Museum (83. AE.251) depicts a crouching nude woman plucking the pubes of a standing woman (see Sutton, “Female Bathers and the Emergence of the Female Nude in Greek Art,” pl. 2 [the inventory number in the caption is incorrect]). The tondo of a red-figure kylix by Apollodorus in Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese 87778, sometimes identified as a scene of depilation (e.g., Frontisi-Ducroux, “Eros, Desire, and the Gaze,” 99, n. 77) is identified by Kilmer as a scene of “lesbian copulation” (*Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases*, 27–28 and colorplate R207 [reversed]). This image has also been identified as a depiction of perfuming the genitals (J. Boardman and E. La Rocca, *Eros in Greece* [New York, 1978], 110, colorplate p. 111); anointing the genitals following plucking (Davies, “Merkins and Modes,” 243; Descoeudres, “*Hêdistos daimôn*,” 10); or delousing (R. F. Sutton, “The Interaction between Men and Women Portrayed on Attic Red-Figure Pottery,” PhD thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1981, 137, n. 68). On pubic lice, see later in this chapter.
- 206 An exceptionally well-preserved example this type of basin is described in M. J. Milne, “A Greek Footbath in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,” *AJA* 48.1 (1944): 26–63.
- 207 On frontality and eroticism, see Frontisi-Ducroux, “Eros, Desire, and the Gaze.”
- 208 A woman is similarly attended by a satyr on a *lekythos* painted in Six’s technique by the Diosphos Painter, ca. 480 BCE, Antikenmuseum Basel 423, (Descoeudres, “*Hêdistos daimôn*,” fig. 1), and on an Attic red-figure kylix formerly on the New York art market (Davies, “Merkins and Modes,” 243).
- 209 Identification of *hetairai*: A. J. Paul, “Eros and a Depilation Scene by the Dinos Painter,” *AJA* 97 (1993): 330.
- 210 M. Skinner, “The Contents of Caelius’ Pyxis,” *CW* 75.4 (1982), 243–245.
- 211 Bain, *Katonáke ton choiron apotetilménas*, 8.
- 212 H. Kenward, “Pubic Lice (Pthirus pubis L.) Were Present in Roman and Medieval Britain,” *Antiquity* 73 (1999): 911–915. Unlike body lice, pubic lice do not preserve well

archaeologically. For the literary sources on lice in general, see H. Kiel, “The Louse in Ancient Greece,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 25 (1951): 305–323.

The notion that the practice of depilation emerged as a result of genital phobia (as suggested by P. Slater, *The Glory of Hera: Greek Mythology and the Greek Family* (Boston, 1968). 12–13; see Kilmer, “Genital Phobia and Depilation”) is unfounded by the evidence (see Davies, “Merkins and Modes,” 243 and n. 4).

- 213 See S. C. Stroup, “Designing Women: Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata* and the “Hetairization” of the Greek Wife,” *Arethusa* 37.1 (2004): 37–73.
- 214 As it does today. Depilation has also been associated with women’s subjugation; see J. Sargeant, “Revealing and Concealing: Observations on Eroticism and Female Pubic Hair,” in G. Biddle-Perry and S. Cheang, eds., *Hair: Styling, Culture and Fashion* (Oxford, 2008), 43–53.
- 215 *Acharnians*, 849 (depilation, or perhaps shaving of the head), *Clouds*, 1083 (depilation, together with “radishing”), *Wealth*, 168 (non-specific “plucking”). For discussion, see J. Roy, “Traditional Jokes about the Punishment of Adulterers in Ancient Greek Literature,” *LCM* 16 (1991): 73–76; D. Cohen, “A Note on Aristophanes and the Punishment of Adultery in Athenian Law,” *ZSav* 102 (1985): 385–387.
- The depilation of Euripides’ kinsman in the *Women at the Thesmophoria* (216; 236–247) occurs in a scene of cross-dressing, underscoring the gendered connotations of this practice. See, in addition to Roy and Cohen: K. Ormand, “Oedipus the Queen: Cross-Gendering without Drag,” *Theatre Journal* 55 (2003): 24–25; F. Zeitlin, “Travesties of Gender and Genre in Aristophanes’ *Thesmophoriazousae*,” in H. Foley, ed., *Reflections of Women in Antiquity* (New York, 1981), 178–180.
- Male pubes are not mentioned otherwise, save a reference in the *Clouds* to an adolescent boy whose “privates bloomed with dewy down like apricots” (978).
- 216 See C. Karusos, *Aristodikos: Zur Geschichte der spätarchaisch-attischen Plastik und der Grabstatue* (Stuttgart, 1961), 72–83 (“*mêdea lachmênta*” or “hairy genitals”); synopsis in Ridgway, *The*

*Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*, 79. Karusos cites, but does not name, a French scholar who suggests in reference to Aristodikos: “il a demandé à son friseur d’étranges services” (72).

- 217 R. R. R. Smith, “Pindar, Athletes, and the Early Greek Statue Habit,” in S. Hornblower and C. Morgan, eds., *Pindar’s Poetry, Patrons, and Festivals: From Archaic Greece to the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 2007), 112–116. I thank an anonymous reviewer for this reference.
- 218 Brinkmann, *Die Polychromie der archaischen und frühklassischen Skulptur*, 47–48; cat. nos. 169 (Anavysos *kouros* [“Kroisos”]), 311 (New York *kouros*), 352 (colossal *kouros* from Samos); K. Seaman, “Retrieving the Original Aphrodite of Knidos,” *RendLinc* 15.3 (2004) 551–557.
- 219 Levine, “The Gendered Grammar of Ancient Mediterranean Hair,” 106.
- 220 A. Synnott summarizes contemporary symbolic practices surrounding hair as a theory of opposites: (1) opposite sexes have opposite hair; (2) head hair and body hair are opposite; (3) opposite ideologies have opposite hair (*The Body Social*, 104).
- 221 Similar constructions persist to this day in Western culture – for example the normative hairlessness of women’s bodies: K. Lesnik-Oberstein, “The Last Taboo: Women, Body Hair and Feminism,” in K. Lesnik-Oberstein, ed., *The Last Taboo: Women and Body Hair* (Manchester, 2006), 1–17; M. Toerien and S. Wilkinson, “Gender and Body Hair: Constructing the Feminine Woman,” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 26.4 (2003): 333–344.
- 222 The integral association of hair and sexuality is argued by E. R. Leach, “Magical Hair,” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 88 (1958): 147–164.
- 223 Likewise, desirable male youths were admired for their long locks (H. A. Shapiro, “Courtship Scenes in Attic Vase-Painting,” *AJA* 85 [1981]: 139).
- 224 For a contemporary parallel, see R. Weitz, “Women and Their Hair: Seeking Power through Resistance and Accommodation,” *Gender and Society* 15.5 (2001): 667–686.
- 225 Certainly, permanent body modifications may be more or less visible, depending on whether they are obscured with clothing or makeup, for example. But permanent modifications to the body rarely disappear completely.

- Most of the theoretical literature on body modification in general (p. 251, n. 2) focuses on permanent modification. For an explicitly feminist critique of “the industry of self-mutilation,” see S. Jeffreys, “‘Body Art’ and Social Status: Cutting, Tattooing and Piercing from a Feminist Perspective,” *Feminism and Psychology* 10.4 (2000): 409–429.
- A. R. Favazza, *Bodies under Siege: Self-Mutilation and Body Modification in Culture and Psychiatry*<sup>2</sup> (Baltimore, MD, 1996) considers contemporary body modification within a continuum of diverse cultural practices and psychological behaviors. For Greek and Roman attitudes toward permanent modifications to the body, with an emphasis on physical disabilities, see N. Vlahogiannis, “Disabling Bodies,” in D. Montserrat, ed., *Changing Bodies, Changing Meanings: Studies on the Human Body in Antiquity* (London, 1998), 13–36.
- 226 This is true whether or not the individual is cognizant of such procedures being performed, or whether he or she has chosen them for him- or herself.
- 227 I thank Rebecca Flemming for bringing this aspect of body modification to my attention.
- 228 For the treatment of wounds, see generally G. Majno, *The Healing Hand: Man and Wound in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, MA, 1975), 141–206.
- 229 As such, wounds and scars feature prominently in literature. For scars as a literary trope, see B. E. Goff, “The Sign of the Fall: The Scars of Orestes and Odysseus,” *CLAnt* 10.2 (1991): 259–267.
- 230 For depictions of wounds in the visual sources, see Grmek and Gourevitch, *Les maladies dans l’art antique*, 63–92; for athletic injuries, see also Poliakoff, *Combat Sports in the Ancient World*, 85–88.
- The deliberate display of wounds sustained in battle, especially those on the front of the body, indicating valor, may have been a Greek custom, though the evidence is primarily Roman: R. J. Evans, “Displaying Honourable Scars: A Roman Gimmick,” *Acta Classica* 42 (1999): 77–94; M. Leigh, “Wounding and Popular Rhetoric at Rome,” *BICS* 40 (1995): 195–215, esp. 196–199 on the Greek evidence.
- 231 J. Boardman, “An Anatomical Puzzle,” *AA* 93 (1978): 330–333.
- 232 Poliakoff, *Combat Sports in the Ancient World*, 85–88; Majno, *The Healing Hand*, 171–75. The most famous ancient depiction of this injury is on the Hellenistic (or Roman) bronze boxer in the Terme Museum, Rome.
- 233 duBois, *Slaves and Other Objects*, 101–113. Slaves were also permanently marked by means of tattoos (see this chapter pp. 84–86).
- 234 Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*<sup>2</sup>, 6, 10.
- Deliberate* scarification was not a Greek practice, though it may have been known as an African custom (Snowden, *Before Color Prejudice*, 14–15 and fig. 18; *idem*, “Iconographical Evidence on the Black Populations in Greco-Roman Antiquity,” 140 and fig. 148).
- 235 Indeed, surgery of any kind was rare until the introduction of anesthesia in the mid-nineteenth century (S. L. Gilman, “The Astonishing History of Aesthetic Surgery,” in A. Taschen, ed., *Aesthetic Surgery* [Köln, 2005], 61–109; *idem*, *Making the Body Beautiful: A Cultural History of Aesthetic Surgery* [Princeton, NJ, 1999]).
- 236 V. Nutton, *Ancient Medicine* (London, 2004), 93.
- 237 Grmek and Gourevitch, *Les maladies dans l’art antique*, 279–282.
- 238 Grmek and Gourevitch, *Les maladies dans l’art antique*, 281–282, fig. 222. Images of individuals holding disembodied body parts are generally devotees of Asklepios hoping to be healed; however, this is a grave stele with no indication of the divinity. The afflictions represented on votive body parts, such as tumors and varicose veins, provide intriguing evidence for the significance of bodily abnormalities in personal appearance.
- 239 The most comprehensive study of prosthetics is L. J. Bliquez, “Prosthetics in Classical Antiquity: Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Prosthetics,” in W. Haase, ed., *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt (ANRW): Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*. 2, *Principat*. 37, *Philosophie, Wissenschaften, Technik*. 3, *Wissenschaften (Medizin und Biologie [Forts.])* (Berlin, 1996), 2640–2676, which is an expanded version of *idem*, “Classical Prosthetics,” *Archaeology* 36.5 (1983): 25–29.

- 240 Bliquez, “Prosthetics in Classical Antiquity,” 2664.
- 241 Bliquez, “Prosthetics in Classical Antiquity,” 2642–2648, figs. 2 and 12.
- 242 Though the Roman method of infibulation involved piercing the prepuce (this chapter, n. 41). For a historical overview of genital piercing from the Roman through the modern period (when it was employed as a means of curbing masturbation), see D. Schultheiss, et al., “Preputial Infibulation: From Ancient Medicine to Modern Genital Piercing,” *British Journal of Urology* 92 (2003): 758–763.
- 243 Men appear to wear earrings in the so-called Anacreontic vases (see [Chapter 7](#), p. 220 and Fig. 7.13), but it is unlikely that they actually pierced their ears for this purpose.
- 244 A terra cotta votive from the Asklepieion at Corinth depicts two ears with pierced earlobes. See C. Roebuck, *Corinth XIV: The Asklepieion and Lerna* (Princeton, NJ, 1951), 120, cat. no. 9, pl. 33.
- 245 As suggested by F. Brein, “Ear Studs for Greek Ladies,” *AnatStud* 32 (1982): 89–92. For Greek earrings, see [Chapter 5](#), pp. 145–147.
- 246 The earliest preserved tattoos are visible on back and knees of the so-called Ice Man discovered in the Tyrolian Alps in 1991: K. Spindler et al., *The Man in the Ice* (New York, 1994), 167–73, plus color-plates between pp. 242 and 243; also M. H. van Dinter, *The World of Tattoo: An Illustrated History* (Amsterdam, 2005), 26–27 (including color plates).
- Studies of modern tattooing practices have proliferated in recent years, following the increased popularity of tattoos. See most recently R. Arp, ed., *Tattoos: Philosophy for Everyone – I Ink, therefore I Am* (Walden, MA, 2012); M. Atkinson, *Tattooed: The Sociogenesis of a Body Art* (Toronto, 2003) (on Canadian practices); Pitts, *In the Flesh* (on tattooing in various Western subcultures); M. DeMello, *Bodies of Inscription: A Cultural History of the Modern Tattoo Community* (Durham, NC, 2000) (on the tattoo “renaissance” in American culture).
- 247 Some Roman sources provide recipes for the removal of tattoos, which provides important evidence for ancient tattooing practices. See C. P. Jones, “Stigma and Tattoo,” in J. Caplan, ed., *Written on the Body: The Tattoo in European and American History* (Princeton, NJ, 2000), 1–16, which is an updated and less technical version of “Stigma: Tattooing and Branding in Graeco-Roman Antiquity,” *JRS* 77 (1987): 139–155. Although there is evidence for the branding of humans in Babylonia and Egypt (and possibly Persia), and the branding of animals was a common practice, there is little evidence for the branding of humans in Greece (Jones, “Stigma,” 151–152).
- 248 D. Kokkinidou and M. Nikolaidou, “Body Imagery in the Aegean Neolithic: Ideological Implications of Anthropomorphic Figurines,” in J. Moore and E. Scott, eds., *Invisible People and Processes: Writing Gender and Childhood into European Archaeology* (London, 1997), 88–112, esp. 107, fig. 8.18. For a diachronic treatment of tattooing in Greece through the modern period, see N. K. Moutsopoulos, *E Dermatostiche (To Tatouaz): Diachronike dierevnese tou phainomenou* (Thessaloniki, 1996), esp. 85–95 on Thracian tattooing.
- Tattoos on Egyptian mummies have been preserved from as early as the 2000 BCE. See Fletcher, “The Decorated Body in Ancient Egypt,” 11–12, with earlier references.
- 249 The decorative markings that appear on the bodies of some gods, heroes, and demons in Archaic art cannot be taken as evidence for human practices of body modification. See B. Fellmann, “Zur Deutung frühgriechischer Körperornamente,” *Jdl* 93 (1978): 1–29.
- 250 That the markings are tattooed, and not merely painted on, is evident from the verb *stizein*, which means ‘to prick’ (Jones, “Stigma and Tattoo,” 4; *idem*, “Stigma,” 142).
- 251 Jones, “Stigma and Tattoo,” 4; *idem*, “Stigma,” 145–146. Excavations of intact Scythian burials in Siberia have revealed that tattooing was practiced by both sexes: S. I. Rudenko, *Frozen Tombs of Siberia: The Pazyryk Burials of Iron Age Horsemen* (Berkeley, CA, 1970), 109–14, 260–66; also van Dinter, *The World of Tattoo*, 28–29.
- 252 See especially the excellent study by L. Renaut, “‘Mains peintes et menton brûlé’: la parure tatouée des femmes thraces,” in Bodiou et al., eds., *Parures et artifices: le corps exposé dans l’Antiquité*, 191–216. See also Tsiafakis, “The Allure and Repulsion of Thracians in the Art of Classical Athens,”



- 372–376; *eadem*, *He Thrake sten Attike eikonographia tou sou aiona p.Ch.: prosengiseis stis scheseis Athenas kai Thrakes* (= *Parartema Thrakikes epeteridas* 4) (Komotene, 1998), 31–40; K. Zimmermann, “Tätowierte Thrakerinnen auf Griechischen Vasenbildern,” *JdI* 95 (1980): 163–196.
- 253 Compare also the image of the Thracian nurse in [Figure 7.16](#).
- 254 Other images of Thracian slaves convey their “tamed” status by means of short hair, as in [Figure 7.16](#): see also Zimmermann, “Tätowierte Thrakerinnen auf Griechischen Vasenbildern,” figs. 28, 30, 31.
- 255 Jones, “Stigma and Tattoo,” 5–10; Jones, “Stigma,” 143–145, 146–150.
- 256 See Shapiro, *Personifications in Greek Art*, 39, 42, cat. no. 6, fig. 5.
- 257 Hodges, “The Ideal Prepuce in Ancient Greece and Rome,” 384–388; M. Knight, “Curing Cut or Ritual Mutilation? Some Remarks on the Practice of Female and Male Circumcision in Graeco-Roman Egypt,” *Isis* 92.2 (2001): 317–338; S. J. D. Cohen, “Why Aren’t Jewish Women Circumcised?” in M. Wyke, ed., *Gender and the Body in the Ancient Mediterranean* [Oxford, 1998], 136–154; Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, 129–130.
- The earliest evidence for female genital mutilation is a second-century BCE papyrus from Memphis, Egypt (Cohen, “Why Aren’t Jewish Women Circumcised?” 139). Strabo reports in the first century BCE that the Egyptians “circumcise the males and excise the females” (*Geography*, 17.2.5).
- 258 This notion is borne out by the Egyptian archaeological evidence. Mummies dating as early as the Old Kingdom have been identified as circumcised; some later specimens are known to be priests and royalty. Images of ritual circumcisions are preserved in tomb paintings from the Old and New Kingdoms. See Knight, “Curing Cut or Ritual Mutilation?” 331–333.
- 259 Miller, “The Myth of Bousiris,” 413–442, esp. 429–431 and fig. 16.7; Sparkes, “Some Greek Images of Others,” 149 and [fig. 7.11](#); Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, 129 and R.699; Snowden, *Before Color Prejudice*, 15 and fig. 19; *idem*, *Blacks in Antiquity*, 23 and fig. 4.
- 260 McNiven, “The Unheroic Penis”; Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, 125–129. Cf. the large, ugly genitals of Geras ([Fig. 3.11](#)).
- 261 Falk, “Written in the Flesh,” 99.
- 262 “The Image of the Other and the Foreign Hero,” trans. J. C. Gage, in Cohen, ed., *Not the Classical Ideal*, 391.
- 263 Similar ideological restrictions on women persist today. In her popular book *The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty Are Used against Women* (New York, 1991), Naomi Wolf argued that “the ideology of beauty is the last one remaining of the old feminine ideologies that still has the power to control those women whom second wave feminism would have otherwise made relatively uncontrollable: It has grown stronger to take over the work of social coercion that myths about motherhood, domesticity, chastity, and passivity, no longer can manage” (10–11).
- 264 On the other hand, it is possible that women perceived of their skillful use of perfumes and cosmetics as a source of social power: see N. A. Rudd and S. J. Lennon, “Social Power and Appearance Management among Women,” in K. K. P. Johnson and S. J. Lennon, eds., *Appearance and Power* (Oxford, 1999), 153–172.

#### CHAPTER 4: GARMENTS

- 1 For an overview of the study of ancient Greek dress, see [Chapter 1](#), pp. 10–18.
- 2 On the lack of realism in representations of dress in Archaic and Classical art, L. Llewellyn-Jones, “A Woman’s View? Dress, Eroticism, and the Ideal Female Body in Athenian Art,” in Llewellyn-Jones, ed., *Women’s Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, 185–190; B. Schmalz, “Peplos und Chiton: frühe griechische Tracht und ihre Darstellungskonventionen,” *JdI* 113 (1998): 1–30; P. J. Riis, “Ancient Types of Garments: Prolegomena to the Study of Greek and Roman Clothing,” *ActaArch* 64 (1993): 151.
- 3 For explicit statements that visual representations of garments represent current styles: M. C. Miller, “The *Ependytes* in Classical Athens,” *Hesperia* 58 (1989): 324; J. P. Small, “The Tarquins and Servius Tullius at Banquet,” *MÉFRA* 103 (1991): 247; J. Boardman, “Symbol and Story in Geometric Art,” in W. Moon, ed., *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* (Madison, 1983), 31.
- 4 The essential reference on textile production is Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles* (discussed in [Chapter 1](#), p. 17). See also J. P. Wild’s



- “Methodological Introduction” to C. Gillis and M.-L. B. Nosch, eds., *Ancient Textiles: Production, Craft and Society* (= *Proceedings of the First International Conference on Ancient Textiles, held at Lund, Sweden, and Copenhagen, Denmark, on March 19–23, 2003*) (Oxford, 2007), 1–6; M. Alden, “Ancient Greek Dress,” *Costume* 37 (2003): 1–4; I. Jenkins, “Industries of Early Historic Europe and the Mediterranean: The Greeks,” in D. Jenkins, ed., *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles* (Cambridge, 2003), 71–76; Pekridou-Gorecki, *Mode im antiken Griechenland*, 13–51; Gullberg and Åström, *The Thread of Ariadne*. M. Vickers has collected “various strands” related to textiles and textile production in Classical Athens in *Images on Textiles: The Weave of Fifth-Century Athenian Art and Society* (Konstanz, 1999).
- The vast majority of Greek garments are made of woven cloth. For garments made of skin, see p. 120.
- 5 S. M. Alexander, “Information on Historical Techniques. Textiles: 1. Classical Authors,” *Art and Archaeology Technical Abstracts* 15 (1978): 344–380; R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, vol. 4 (Leiden, 1964).
  - 6 For archaeological textiles generally, see I. Good, “Archaeological Textiles: A Review of Current Research,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30 (2001): 209–226; Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*, 126–214; also the contribution by P. Åström in *The Thread of Ariadne*, pp. 12–18. For Greek textile finds, see Y. Morizot, “Le vêtement grec dans sa matérialité: découvertes et recherches récentes,” *Histoire de l’art* 48 (2001): 12; D. L. Carroll, “Patterned Textiles in Greek Art: A Study of Their Designs in Relationship to Real Textiles and to Local and Period Styles,” PhD thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1965, 6–31. J. d’A. Boissonneault, “Les textiles de l’antiquité classique,” in M.-O. Jentel et al., eds., *Tianquillitas: mélanges en l’honneur de Tran tam Tinh* (Quebec, 1994), 83–90, discusses textile fibers based primarily on the literary evidence.
  - 7 Complete garment: M. R. Popham, et al., “The Hero of Lefkandi,” *Antiquity* 56 (1982): 173 and pl. 25; fragments and textile impressions on metal objects: M. R. Popham, et al., *Lefkandi I: The Iron Age*, BSA Suppl. 11 (London, 1980), 227–229 and pl. 237, a–b. Textiles preserve well in close proximity to metal, which creates an acidic microenvironment (Good, “Archaeological Textiles,” 211).
  - 8 C. Moulherat and Y. Spantidaki, “A Study of Textile Remains from the 5th Century BC Discovered in Kalyvia, Attica,” in Gillis and Nosch, eds., *Ancient Textiles*, 163–166. The selvage of this textile contains seven threads, possibly silk, dyed purple.
  - 9 H. Thédenat, “Linum” *DarSag* 3.2 (1918): 1261.
  - 10 For linen as a domestic product: F. Rougemont, “Flax and Linen Textiles in the Mycenaean Palatial Economy,” in Gillis and Nosch, eds., *Ancient Textiles*, 46–49; M.-Cl. Amouretti, “Les ressources végétales méconnues de la chôra,” in M. Brunet, ed., *Territoire des cites grecques. Actes de la table ronde internationale organisée par l’École française d’Athènes*, 31 Octobre–3 Novembre, 1991 (= *BCH Suppl.* 34) (Paris, 1999), 357–369.
  - 11 For cotton imported from India: M. C. Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC: A Study in Cultural Receptivity* (Cambridge, 1997), 76, n. 87.
  - 12 Chinese silk: H.-J. Hundt, “Über vorgeschichtliche Seidenfunde,” *JRGZM* 16 (1969): 59–71, and pls. 9–15; domestic silk: I. Good, “On the Question of Silk in Pre-Han Eurasia,” *Antiquity* 69 (1995): 965; cotton: C. Margariti et al., “Recent Analyses of the Excavated Textile Find from Grave 35 HTR 73, Kerameikos Cemetery, Athens, Greece,” *JAS* 38.3 (2011): 522–527. For the continuing controversies surrounding silk in Greece, see p. 270, n. 18.
  - 13 The fragment, unpublished save for a notice in the *Illustrated London News* (J. Beckwith, “Textile Fragments from Classical Antiquity: An Important Find at Koropi,” *Illustrated London News* January 23 [1954], 114–115), is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Discussed by Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC*, 80; Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*, 206; excellent photograph in Jenkins, “Industries of Early Historic Europe and the Mediterranean,” ill. 2.3.
  - 14 G. M. A. Richter, “Silk in Greece,” *AJA* 33 (1929): 27–33.
  - 15 For *chitones*, see pp. 106–110. Diaphanous garments are discussed in [Chapter 6](#), pp. 195–197.
  - 16 And so the Romans referred to diaphanous (silk?) garments as *Coae vestes*.

- 17 Z. Gansiniec, "Note on Silk in Greece," *Archaeologia Polona* 14 (1973): 87–88.
- 18 See most recently T. van Damme, "Reviewing the Evidence for a Bronze Age Silk Industry," in Nosch and Laffineur, eds., *Kosmos*, 163–169; extensive discussion in E. Panagiotakopulu, et al., "A Lepidopterous Cocoon from Thera and Evidence for Silk in the Aegean Bronze Age," *Antiquity* 71 (1997): 420–429; Good, "On the Question of Silk in Pre-Han Eurasia." The identification of silk in pre-Roman Greece has been questioned in a recent article by L. Bender Jørgensen ("The Question of Prehistoric Silks in Europe," *Antiquity* 87 [2013]: 581–588), who calls for greater transparency in research on silk in order for researchers to critically examine results.
- 19 This was possibly the *tarantina* or *tarantinidia* named in various literary sources. See most recently B. Burke, "Looking for Sea-Silk in the Bronze Age Aegean," in Nosch and Laffineur, eds., *Kosmos*, 171–174, with earlier bibliography.
- 20 For properties of various fibers, see Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*, pp. 9–35; for spinning, pp. 39–78; for weaving, pp. 79–125. The physical qualities of different fibers necessitated lighter or heavier spindle-whorls and loom-weights.
- 21 The classic study of the warp-weighted loom, which survived in Scandinavia until the modern era, is M. Hoffmann, *The Warp-Weighted Loom: Studies in the History and Technology of an Ancient Implement* (Oslo, 1964), esp. 297–321 on the looms of classical antiquity. For the *epinetron*, see Badinou, *La Laine et le Parfum*, 1–50, with earlier references.
- 22 Ferrari, *Figures of Speech*, 11–34; K. Stears, "Spinning Women: Iconography and Atatus in Athenian Funerary Sculpture," in G. Hoffmann, ed., *Les pierres de l'offrande: autour de l'oeuvre de Christoph W. Clairmont* (Zurich, 2001), 107–114; O. Cavalier, "Au fil de l'aiguille: Quelques réflexions iconographiques sur filage et tissage in Grèce à travers les vases figurés et les stèles attiques," in *Aspects de l'artisanat du textile dans le monde méditerranéen: Egypte, Grèce, monde romain* (Lyon, 1996), 39–52; Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*, Figures 3.13, 3.24, 3.25, 3.26, 3.28; Keuls, "Attic Vase Painting and the Home Textile Industry"; Hoffmann, *The Warp-Weighted Loom*, 297–310. For *epinetra* in use, see Badinou, *La Laine et le Parfum*, 20–25.
- 23 S. D. Bundrick, "The Fabric of the City: Imaging Textile Production in Classical Athens," *Hesperia* 77.2 (2008): 283–334.
- 24 On *kalathoi*, see especially F. Lissarrague, "Women, Boxes, Containers: Some Signs and Metaphors," in Reeder, *Pandora*, 91–101; also Sebesta, "Visions of Gleaming Textiles and a Clay Core," 126–128; Stears, "Spinning Women," 109–113; Cavalier, "Au fil de l'aiguille," 42–48. In Figure 3.5, the *kalathos* is suspended (sideways) above the seated woman; in Figure 5.23, it is carried by a winged Nike.
- 25 Male weavers for commercial purposes: A. Loftus, "The Myth of Male Weaving: Textile Production in Classical Athens," *ArchNews* 23 (1998): 11–31; W. Thompson, "Weaving: A Man's Work," *CW* 75 (1982): 217–222; female weavers: K. Carr, "Women's Work: Spinning and Weaving in the Greek Home," in D. Cardon and M. Feugère, eds., *Archéologie des textiles des origines au Ve siècle: actes du colloque de Lattes, Octobre 1999* (Montagnac, 2000), 163–166, who has somehow missed Barber's *Women's Work*.  
Lucia Nixon's argument for textile production as an integrated process involving the labor of both men and women is well taken ("Women, Children, and Weaving," in P. Betancourt et al., eds., *MELETEMATA: Studies in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as He Enters His 65th Year* [= *Aegaeum* 20] [Liège, 1999], 561–567). Nevertheless, it is clear from the visual and literary sources that in the historic period, spinning and weaving were ideal feminine activities (though not necessarily preparatory activities such as gathering fibers and dyeing yarn, for example).
- 26 The young wife in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* oversees the production of textiles within the household (7.36), teaching those who lack such skills (7.41, 10.10). In Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, Aristarchus tells us that members of his household know how to make various types of woven garments, but do not because they are elites, while others "buy foreign slaves and can force them to make what is convenient" (2.7.6).  
The literature on the ideal association of women and wool working is extensive. In addition to the sources cited here, see

- F. Frontisi-Ducroux, *Ouvrages de dames: Ariane, Hélène, Pénélope* ... (Paris, 2009); I. Papadopoulou-Belmehdi, "Greek Weaving or the Feminine in Antithesis," *Diogenes* no. 167, vol. 42/3 (Fall, 1994): 39–56; I. Jenkins, "The Ambiguity of Greek Textiles," *Arethusa* 18 (1985): 109–132; H. F. North, "The Mare, the Vixen, and the Bee: *Sophrosyne* as the Virtue of Women in Antiquity," *Illinois Classical Studies* 2 (1977): 35–48; also L. P. Vetter, "Women's Work" as Political Art: Weaving and Dialectical Politics in Homer, Aristophanes, and Plato (Lanham, MD, 2005). For parallels in the Roman world, see L. Larsson Lovén, "Wool Work as a Gender Symbol in Ancient Rome: Roman Textiles and Ancient Sources," in Gillis and Nosch, eds., *Ancient Textiles*, 229–236; *eadem*, "Lanam Fecit: Woolworking and Female Virtue," in L. Larsson Lovén and A. Strömberg, eds., *Aspects of Women in Antiquity* (Jonsered, 1998), 85–95.
- The ideological association between textile production and human reproduction was pervasive. See especially J. Scheid and J. Svenbro, *The Craft of Zeus: Myths of Weaving and Fabric*, trans. C. Volk (Cambridge, MA, 1996), 158–163.
- 27 For "spinning *hetairai*," see Ferrari, *Figures of Speech*, 12–14; Lewis, *The Athenian Woman*, 194–199; Sebesta, "Visions of Gleaming Textiles and a Clay Core"; Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes*, 86–89; D. Williams, "Women on Athenian Vases: Problems of Interpretation," in A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt, eds., *Images of Women in Antiquity* (London, 1983): 96–97; Keuls, "Attic Vase Painting and the Home Textile Industry," 224–229.
- For the difficulty of identifying *hetairai* on the basis of nudity, see Chapter 6, pp. 182–184. For moneybags, see Chapter 5, pp. 169–170.
- 28 H. Lind, "Ein Hetärenhaus am Heiligen Tor?" *MusHelv* 45 (1988): 158–169.
- 29 I. Jenkins and D. Williams, "Sprang Hair Nets: Their Manufacture and Use in Ancient Greece," *AJA* 89 (1985): 416. For hairnets, see Chapter 5, p. 159.
- The sprang technique of textile production results in a stretchy, net-like material useful for articles such as hairnets and stockings (see Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*, 122–124).
- 30 A few Greek garments may have been circular in shape: see pp. 117–118 (*chlamys*), and p. 119 (*egkuklon*). Circular garments were much more pervasive in Etruria and Rome: see Riis, "Ancient Types of Garments," 174–176; H. Granger-Taylor, "Weaving Clothes to Shape in the Ancient World: The Tunic and Toga of the Arringatore," *Textile History* 13 (1982): 3–25.
- 31 For an overview of color in Greek dress, see E. J. W. Barber, "Colour in Early Cloth and Clothing," *CAJ* 9 (1999): 117–120.
- 32 Good, "On the Question of Silk in Pre-Han Eurasia," 965.
- 33 Dyeing in general: Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*, 223–243; excavated dye-works: M. Monaghan, "Dyeing Establishments in Classical and Hellenistic Greece," in Cardon and Feugère, eds., *Archéologie des textiles des origines au Ve siècle*, 167–172. For the difficulty of identifying dye-works archaeologically, M. E. Alberti, "Washing and Dyeing Installations of the Ancient Mediterranean: Towards a Definition from Roman Times Back to Minoan Crete," in Gillis and Nosch, eds., *Ancient Textiles*, 59–63.
- Dyes: D. Cardon, *Natural Dyes: Sources, Tradition, Technology and Science* (London, 2007); murex-purple: D. S. Reese, "Iron Age Shell Purple-Dye Production in the Aegean," in J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw, eds., *Kommos IV: The Greek Sanctuary* 1 (Princeton, NJ, 2000), 643–645.
- 34 H. Blum, *Purpur als Statussymbol in der griechischen Welt* (Bonn, 1998); H. Stulz, *Die Farbe Purpur im frühen Griechentum: Beobachtet in der Literatur und in der bildenden Kunst* (Stuttgart, 1990); M. Reinhold, *History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity* (= *Collection Latomus* 116) (Brussels, 1970), esp. 22–28 on the Greek cities. For prohibitions against wearing purple in Greek sanctuaries, see p. 215.
- 35 The collection of saffron seems to have been central to girls' coming-of-age rituals. It was also used to treat menstrual ills (Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*, 338, n. 13). See further P. Rehak, "Crocus Costumes in Aegean Art," in A. P. Chapin, ed., *Charis: Essays in Honor of Sara A. Immerwahr* (Princeton, NJ, 2004) (= *Hesperia* Suppl. 33), 85–100; C. Zaitoun, "Vêtement et safran dans le rituel: l'importance de la parure dans la société égéenne" in F. Chausson and H. Inglebert, eds., *Costume et société dans l'Antiquité et le haut Moyen Age* (Paris, 2003), 7–24.

- 36 Irwin, *Color Terms in Greek Poetry*, 178–182. White garments are often ritual dress; black and “dark” garments are generally articles of mourning. See [Chapter 7](#), p. 228.
- 37 L. Cleland, “The Semiosis of Description: Some Reflections on Fabric and Colour in the Brauron Inventories,” in Cleland, et al., eds., *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, 87–95.
- 38 J. H. Oakley, *Picturing Death in Classical Athens: The Evidence of the White Lekythoi* (Cambridge, 2004), 7–8. Egyptian blue was applied after firing and so does not preserve well, leaving merely the outline of the garment, which should not be read as transparent. Black garments are especially appropriate on funerary vases; see [Chapter 7](#), p. 228 and Fig. 7.17.
- 39 Jeammet, “Le costume grec à travers les figurines en terre cuite,” 34–35. Similar colors appear in Macedonian tomb painting dating from the middle of the fourth century BCE; see most recently E. Zimi, “Purple Dye in the Roman Province of Macedonia: The Evidence from Northern Greece,” in Tzachili and Zimi, eds., *Textiles and dress in Greece and the Roman East*, 145–160, esp. figure 1 (in color).
- 40 V. Brinkmann, *Die Polychromie der archaischen und frühklassischen Skulptur* (Munich, 2003). See also the exhibition catalogue: V. Brinkmann and R. Wünsche, *Gods in Color: Painted Sculpture of Classical Antiquity* (Munich, 2007), with many reconstructions.
- 41 Brinkmann and Wünsche, *Gods in Color*, 45–53; Brinkmann, *Die Polychromie der archaischen und frühklassischen Skulptur*, cat. no. 100. For discussion of the garment-types, see p. 283, nn. 249–250.
- 42 Representations of patterned textiles in vase painting are collected in Carroll, “Patterned Textiles in Greek Art,” 66–201 (catalogue), 202–239 (historical outline). See also E. Guralnick, “Fabric Patterns as Symbols of Status in the Near East and Early Greece,” in Colburn and Heyn, eds., *Reading a Dynamic Canvas*, 84–114.
- 43 For diaphanous dress, see [Chapter 6](#), pp. 175–197.
- Guralnick’s assertion that patterned textiles disappear from Greek art following the Persian invasions, “as the Greeks now began to regard the East with great contempt and to view their clothing and artistic styles as something to be avoided” (“Fabric Patterns as Symbols of Status in the Near East and Early Greece,” 111) is not supported by the archaeological evidence. The discovery of the fragment of embroidered linen at Koropi (this chapter, p. 90) demonstrates that elites valued imported textiles well into the fifth century BCE. See discussion in Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC*, 80–81.
- 44 Perhaps also as insurance against theft? (see p. 96). For inscribed garments in the Brauron inventories, see Cleland, *The Brauron Clothing Catalogues*, esp. 46–47, 148–158 (Appendix: Index of Names). For inscribed garments generally, see A. J. B. Wace, “The Cloaks of Zeuxis and Demetrius,” *ÖJh* 39 (1952): 111–113.
- 45 For the difficulty of dyeing linen, see Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*, 15, 211.
- 46 Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*, 162, 206. The embroidered textile from Koropi (p. 90) was likely imported.
- The question of whether Greeks employed embroidery was first addressed by A. J. B. Wace, “Weaving or Embroidery?” *AJA* 52 (1948): 51–55; see also his discussion of “The Veil of Despoina,” *AJA* 38 (1934): 107–111. W. Lermann, who studied the Acropolis *korai* shortly after their recovery, claimed that he could make out cross-stitching patterns in the painted decoration (*Altgriechische Plastik: eine Einführung in die griechische Kunst des archaischen und Gebundenen Stils* [Munich, 1907], 84).
- Several garments in the Brauron clothing catalogues are identified as *poikilos*, which Cleland translates as “patterned,” in opposition to the term *katastiktos*, which suggests embroidery (*The Brauron Clothing Catalogues*, 125).
- The difficulties surrounding Greek terms for embroidery have been revisited in a recent article by M. Patera, “Problèmes de la terminologie grecque de la broderie: recherché sur une aporie,” in Tzachili and Zimi, eds., *Textiles and dress in Greece and the Roman East*, 117–130.
- For the poetics of color-weaving in early Greek literature and art, see B. Wagner-Hasel, “The Graces and Colour Weaving,” in Llewellyn-Jones, ed., *Women’s Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, 17–32.

- 47 It is difficult to determine whether such attachments were worn in life or made for the grave.
- 48 Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*, 206–207, Figure 7.11. Painted decoration would have been less time-consuming, but also less colorfast than weaving. It is possible that this technique was only used for funerary textiles.
- 49 Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*, 99, 213; D. K. Burnham, “Transverse Selvages on Classical Sculpture,” *Bulletin de liaison du Centre international d’étude des textiles anciens* 46 (1977): 10–12.
- 50 Morizot, “A propos de la représentation sculptée des vêtements dans l’art grec,” 125–130.  
The motif appears on most of the mantle-type garments on the ionic frieze of the Parthenon (Neils, *The Parthenon Frieze*, 112–113 and Figure 58), and perhaps most notably on the folded “peplos” for Athena (see Chapter 7, pp. 223–224). Although it would not have been visible from the ground, the selvedge would have helped to delineate visually the edges of the garments (Morizot, “A propos de la représentation sculptée des vêtements dans l’art grec,” 126).
- 51 Burnham, “Transverse Selvages on Classical Sculpture,” 10–12, and Figure 2. The tassels are sometimes misidentified as “garment weights.” The drilling technique employed on the gemstone of Mikes (Figure 5.14) gives the appearance of spherical weights rather than tassels; see also the corners of the mantle worn by Herakles in Figure 3.17.
- 52 Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC*, 159–160. Miller notes (p. 159) that only one garment in the Brauronian inscriptions is described as fringed. The fringed garments worn by a youth and an *aulos* player in a *symposion* scene on a black-figure *olpe* by the Amasis Painter (Athens, Agora P24673) appear to be non-Greek, especially given the dots on the surface of the garments that replicate the applied metal disks that are common decoration on elite garments from the Near East.
- 53 See especially E. J. W. Barber, “The Felicitous Fold: Draping and Pleating in Archaic and Classical Greece,” in I. Papantoniou, ed., *Ptychoseis = Folds + Pleats: Drapery from Ancient Greek Dress to 21st-Century Fashion* (Athens, 2004), 19–33; Losfeld, *L’art grec et le vêtement*, 53–67; Morizot, “A propos de la représentation sculptée des vêtements dans l’art grec,” 121–125.
- 54 Conversely, the absence of folds in the visual sources does not necessarily mean that the actual garments were not folded (Morizot, “A propos de la représentation sculptée des vêtements dans l’art grec,” 121).
- 55 Schaeffer, “The Costume of the Korai,” 250. E. Gullberg argued that the Archaic *chiton* was pleated by means of a glue made of quince pips, a technique preserved in modern Greece (*The Thread of Ariadne*, 24).
- 56 Barber, “The Felicitous Fold,” 20.
- 57 For dress fasteners, see Chapter 5, pp. 128–134.
- 58 The care of garments is not often discussed in scholarship on Greek dress, but see Pekridou-Gorecki, *Mode im antiken Griechenland*, 52–55.
- 59 Especially at Pompeii, where an entire laundry has been excavated in the famous Eumachia building. For Roman practices of cleaning and mending garments, see A. T. Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion* (Stroud, Gloucestershire, 2000), 23. In Greek literature, the most famous passage describing the laundering of garments occurs in Homer’s *Odyssey* (6.57–95), when the shipwrecked Odysseus happens upon Nausikaa and her companions washing clothes on the banks of a river.
- 60 Reilly, “Many Brides,” 423. For the role of garments in wedding ritual, see Chapter 7, pp. 207–212.
- 61 Fold marks appear on the statues of Mausolos and Artemisia from the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos (G. B. Waywell, *The Free-Standing Sculptures of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus in the British Museum: A Catalogue* [London, 1978], 69, 100, 104), which certainly represent elite figures. For other examples, see Waywell, p. 69.
- 62 Again, our best evidence for ancient garment presses is preserved at Pompeii. See Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion*, 23–24, and Figure 4.  
Folded textiles are represented on several of the early Classical *pinakes* from the Greek colony of Epizephyrian Locri in southern Italy (H. Prückner, *Die lokrischen Tonreliefs* [Mainz, 1968], pl. 4.4 [stored in chest]; pl. 5.1; pl. 5.2; pl. 7.6). Garments might also have been rolled for storage in chests, as depicted on a red-figure *lekythos* in the Yale University Art



- Gallery by the Yale Lekythos Painter, 1913.146 (see Pekridou-Gorecki, *Mode im antiken Griechenland*, Figure 28).
- 63 For perfume as a luxury, see [Chapter 3](#), pp. 62–65.
- 64 For the Anthesteria, see [Chapter 2](#), 38, 43; for the ritual perfuming of garments, see [Chapter 7](#), p. 222.
- 65 Homer describes the fragrant scent of a storeroom containing garments (*Iliad*, 6.288).
- 66 S. Milanezi, “Beauty in Rags: On *Rhakos* in Aristophanic Theatre,” in Cleland, et al., eds., *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, 75–86. One thinks also of Odysseus’ use of ragged garments as a disguise (Block, “Clothing Makes the Man”).
- 67 Linders, *Studies in the Treasure Records of Artemis Brauronia Found in Athens*, 58–59.  
For the dedication of garments to Artemis at Brauron, see [Chapter 7](#), pp. 213–214.
- 68 Hans Van Wees argues that, throughout Greece, starting in the late Archaic period, high-status garments were imported rather than domestically produced (“Trailing Tunics and Sheepskin Coats: Dress and Status in Early Greece,” in Cleland, et al., eds., *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, 49).
- 69 For dress regulations in Greek sanctuaries, see [Chapter 7](#), pp. 215–216. For restrictions on dress in funerary contexts, see [Chapter 7](#), pp. 227–228. For the theft of garments, which sometimes occurred by force, [Chapter 7](#), p. 225.  
Garments and footwear are among the household goods confiscated from Alcibiades and others as punishment for the infamous mutilation of the Herms in the late fifth century BCE. A series of inscriptions recording the subsequent sale of these items lists the prices of some articles (W. K. Pritchett, “The Attic Stelai: Part II,” *Hesperia* 25 [1956]: 203–210). Although the sale of secondhand articles of dress must have been a regular occurrence, the textual evidence for the market in garments and textiles does not generally distinguish between new and “used” items (discussed later).
- 70 The *paraphernalia* is separate from the dowry, which was administered by the husband (R. Sealey, *Women and Law in Classical Greece* [Chapel Hill, 1990], 26). For garments as part of the bridal trousseau, see A.-M. Vêrilhac and C. Vial, *Le mariage grec du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle av.* J.-C. à l’époque d’Auguste (Athens, 1998) (= *BCH Suppl.* 32): 177–183. In modern Greece, the bride’s trousseau traditionally included a large quantity of textiles (*rukha*), many of which were made by the girl herself prior to her betrothal (E. Friedl, *Vasilika: A Village in Modern Greece* [New York, 1962], 58).
- 71 See most recently J. Davidson, “Citizen Consumers: The Athenian Democracy and the Origins of Western Consumption,” in F. Trentmann, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption* (Oxford, 2012), 23–46.
- 72 Geddes, “Rags and Riches,” 310–311.
- 73 For foreign garments imported into Athens, see pp. 120–126.
- 74 Losfeld, *Essai sur le costume grec*, 327–339.  
Linders identified approximately eighteen different types of garments on the Braurion inventories from the Athenian Acropolis (*Studies in the Treasure Records of Artemis Brauronia Found in Athens*). See also the very useful tabulations in Cleland, *The Brauron Clothing Catalogues*, 50–59, with analysis on pp. 60–68.  
We are likewise at a loss as to the precise meaning of certain descriptive terms applied to garments, such as *aplous* (single) and *diplous* (double) (L. Casson, “Greek and Roman Clothing: Some Technical Terms,” *Glotta* 61 [1983]: 193–207).
- 75 I explored this issue at some length in particular reference to the *peplos*. See “The Ancient Greek *Peplos* and the ‘Dorian Question,’” with earlier references.
- 76 It has been suggested that “in order to obtain a satisfactory nomenclature, another classification than the traditional philological one based upon ancient names should be attempted” (Riis, “Ancient Types of Garments,” 154). The purpose of the present study is not to create a new nomenclature but to identify ancient Greek dress in current theoretical terms.
- 77 For example, Oakley, “Death and the Child,” Figure 26; Neils and Oakley, eds., *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*, cat. no. 30; Garland, *The Greek Way of Life*, 81–83, Figure 7; Golden, *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens*, 17–18.
- 78 Golden, *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens*, 17.
- 79 See [Chapter 7](#), p. 199.
- 80 See this chapter, n. 70.



- 81 For diaphanous garments, see [Chapter 6](#), pp. 195–197.
- 82 K. Olson, “Roman Underwear Revisited,” *CW* 96 (2003): 201–210.
- 83 For athletic nudity, see [Chapter 6](#), pp. 177–179.
- 84 H. A. Shapiro, “Modest Athletes and Liberated Women: Etruscans on Attic Black-Figure Vases,” in Cohen, ed., *Not the Classical Ideal*, 315–337, and Figures 12.1–12.3. For the Etruscan garment, see L. Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress*<sup>2</sup> (Baltimore, 2003), 21–29.
- 85 Stewart, *Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece*, Appendix, pp. 231–232, plate VI and Figure 66.
- 86 A. Kossatz-Deissmann, “Zur Herkunft des Perizoma im Satyrspiel,” *JdI* 97 (1982): 65–90, Figures 11–16.
- 87 Stewart, *Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece*, Figures 70–71; Kossatz-Deissmann, “Zur Herkunft des Perizoma im Satyrspiel,” Figures 8–10. For the dress of Atalante, see also this chapter on the *strophion*, pp. 98–100. For female athletes generally, see [Chapter 3](#), p. 59 and [Chapter 7](#), pp. 200–201.
- 88 The most comprehensive recent study is E. J. Stafford, “Viewing and Obscuring the Female Breast: Glimpses of the Ancient Bra,” in Cleland, et al., eds., *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, 96–110. See also the short treatment in Pekridou-Gorecki, *Mode im antiken Griechenland*, 95–96.
- Strophion* also refers to a sacral headdress: see [Chapter 7](#), p. 216.
- 89 The yellow dye produced with saffron had particularly feminine connotations. See p. 93.
- 90 For the *strophion* in Aristophanes, see Stone, *Costume in Aristophanic Comedy*, 184–185.
- 91 For breasts covered with drapery in Athenian vase painting, see Llewellyn-Jones, “A Woman’s View?” 181–187. For diaphanous garments generally, see [Chapter 6](#), p. 195–197.
- 92 B. Cohen, “Divesting the Female Breast of Clothes in Classical Sculpture,” in A. O. Koloski-Ostrow and C. L. Lyons, eds., *Naked Truths: Women, Sexuality, and Gender in Classical Art and Archaeology* (London, 1997), 68; and [Chapter 6](#), pp. 190–192.
- 93 Stafford, “Viewing and Obscuring the Female Breast,” esp. 106–107 and Figure 9.6.
- In Hellenistic literature the breast-band is also referred to as *mitra* (103 and n. 32). On the *mitra* as a head covering, see [Chapter 5](#), pp. 159–160.
- 94 Stafford, “Viewing and Obscuring the Female Breast,” 98, Figure 9.1.
- 95 See this chapter, n. 185, and [Chapter 3](#), p. 59.
- 96 Stafford, “Viewing and Obscuring the Female Breast,” 99, Figure 9.2.
- 97 Stafford, “Viewing and Obscuring the Female Breast,” 99–101, Figures 9.3–9.4.
- 98 For the cross-bands or *kestos*, see [Chapter 5](#), pp. 137–139.
- 99 D. E. Gerber, “The Female Breast in Greek Erotic Literature,” *Arethusa* 11 (1978): 203–212.
- 100 For the bared breast as representing malevolent forces, see M. DeForest, “Clytemnestra’s Breast and the Evil Eye,” in M. DeForest, ed., *Woman’s Power, Man’s Game: Essays on Classical Antiquity in Honor of Joy K. King* (Wauconda, IL, 1993), 129–148.
- The story of the trial of the *hetaira* Phryne, who bared her breasts to the jury in order to avoid certain conviction of a capital offense, is likely a later invention (C. Cooper, “Hyperides and the Trial of Phryne,” *Phoenix* 49 [1995]: 303–318).
- 101 Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*<sup>2</sup>, 8, 55–56.
- 102 Cohen, “Divesting the Female Breast of Clothes in Classical Sculpture,” and [Chapter 6](#), pp. 190–192.
- 103 For general discussions of the *peplos*, see L. J. Roccas, “Back-Mantle and Peplos: The Special Costume of Greek Maidens in Fourth-Century Funerary and Votive Reliefs,” *Hesperia* 69 (2000): 244–245; Lee, “The Myth of the Classical *Peplos*” (plus more specific articles cited below); Losfeld, *L’art grec et le vêtement*, 141–206; E. J. W. Barber, “The Peplos of Athena,” in J. Neils, ed., *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens* (Princeton, NJ, 1992), 103–117; Schmaltz, “Peplos und Chiton”; Ridgway, “The Fashion of the Elgin Kore”; Pekridou-Gorecki, *Mode im antiken Griechenland*, 77–82, Figures 51–53; Bieber, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der griechische Tracht*<sup>2</sup>, 31, 33–34, pls. 17–23; eadem, *Griechische Kleidung*, 34–37, pls. 4–5; Abrahams, *Greek Dress*, 39–52, Figure 9. The *peplos* was first identified as an early Greek pinned garment

- by Studniczka (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der altgriechischen Tracht* 76–77, 82–83); see Lee, “The Ancient Greek *Peplos* and the ‘Dorian Question,’” 132–133.
- 104 This type of “open” *peplos* is sometimes identified as Laconian, on the basis of (mostly late) literary testimonia claiming that Spartan women were scantily clad (V. H. Poulsen, *Der Strenge Stil: Studien zur Geschichte der griechischen Plastik 480–450* [Copenhagen, 1937], 40–42). The *peplos* worn by the caryatid in Figure 5.22 is sewn on the sides (not visible in plate).
- 105 M. M. Lee, “Problems in Greek Dress Terminology: *Kolpos* and *Apoptygma*,” *ZPE* 150 (2005): 221–224.
- 106 For the *zone*, see Chapter 5, pp. 135–136.
- 107 Lee, “Problems in Greek Dress Terminology,” 223–224.
- 108 Although no *peploi* have been recovered archaeologically in Greece, a similar woolen garment dating to the late Bronze Age or Iron Age has been recovered from danish bog (Riis, “Ancient Types of Garments,” 163–164, Figure 19, with earlier references; I. Hägg, “Some Notes on the Origin of the *Peplos*-Type Dress in Scandinavia,” *Tor I* [1967–1968]: 81–127). The term *peplos* has an Indo-European root (Studniczka, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der altgriechischen Tracht*, 15–16, 93).
- 109 van Wees, “Clothes, Class and Gender in Homer,” in Cairns, *Body Language in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, 4–25.
- 110 For further discussion of the pinned *peploi* on the François vase, see Chapter 5, pp. 129–130.
- 111 For an extended discussion of dress pins, see Chapter 5, pp. 128–133.
- 112 Translation adapted from D. Grene, trans., *Herodotus: The History* (Chicago, 1987).
- 113 Hans van Wees suggests that the change was the result of increased sumptuary legislation (“Clothes, Class and Gender in Homer,” 25). On the other hand, the linen *chiton*, which was imported from the East, certainly had connotations of luxury (see pp. 106–110). Ian Jenkins, following Herodotus, attributes the change to “the Greek male’s unconscious desire to disarm women” (“Dressed to Kill,” *Omnibus* 5 [1983], 29–32). On this passage, see also now A. Serghidou, “Vêtements et preuves chez Hérodote,” in Gherchanoc and Huet, eds., *Vêtements antiques*, 89–90.
- 114 Lee, “Constru(ct)ing Gender in the Feminine Greek *Peplos*,” 57; *eadem*, “The Ancient Greek *Peplos* and the ‘Dorian Question,’” 122.
- 115 D. Rössler “Gab es Modetendenzen in der griechischen Tracht am Ende des 5. und im 4. Jahrhundert v.u.Z.?” in E. C. Welskopf, ed., *Hellenische Poleis*, vol. 3 (Darmstadt, 1974), 1539–1569. B. S. Ridgway considers the *peplophoros* (*peplos*-wearer) a hallmark of the Severe style (*The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture*, 8–9).
- 116 W. Martini, “Der Wandel der Frauenmode in der Zeit der Perserkriege,” in K. Zimmermann, ed., *Der Stilbegriff in den Altertumswissenschaften* (Rostock, 1993), 75–80; first suggested by Studniczka, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der altgriechischen Tracht*, vii.
- 117 See Chapter 5, pp. 131–132.
- 118 Lee, “The Ancient Greek *Peplos* and the ‘Dorian Question,’” 139.
- 119 This would be especially appropriate at Athens, where a special *peplos* was dedicated to the goddess in the culminating event of the Panathenaia. See most recently N. Robertson, “The Praxiergidae Decree (*IG* I3 7) and the Dressing of Athena’s Statue with the *Peplos*,” *GRBS* 44 (2004): 111–161; Barber, “The *Peplos* of Athena.” For the *peploi* worn by the maidens in the east frieze of the Parthenon, see Roccas, “The *Kanephoros* and Her Festival Mantle in Greek Art,” 654–659.
- The particular ritual significance of the *peplos* at Athens explains the poetic functions of *peploi* in Classical Greek drama. See M. M. Lee, “Evil Wealth of Raiment: Deadly *Peploi* in Greek Tragedy,” *CJ* 99 (2004): 253–279.
- 120 This so-called doughy drapery is especially characteristic of the Olympia sculptures and may indicate the use of clay models (Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture*, 19–20).
- 121 W. A. P. Childs, “The Classic as Realism in Greek Art,” *ArtJ* 47 (1988): 11.
- 122 Though the different styles of belting the *peplos* were traditionally considered regional characteristics, it is clear that they in fact reflect social categories related to the social and sexual maturity of women and girls (Roccas, “Back-Mantle and *Peplos*,” 245).
- 123 The maiden loosens her *zone* in the presence of Artemis in preparation for marriage. That Artemis is represented here without a belt underscores her role as protectress of young

- girls. For the significance of the *zone*, see [Chapter 5](#), pp. 135–136.
- 124 Figure O, east pediment, temple of Zeus at Olympia: Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture*, Figure 14. The girding of [Figure 5.15](#) is visible only in the rear view: Heuzey, *Histoire du costume antique*, 193, Figure 95. This *peplophoros* lifts her over-fold as a veil; see [Chapter 5](#), p. 155.
- 125 Roccas, “Back-Mantle and Peplos,” 245–247. For the cross-bands (*kestos* or *kestos himas*), see [Chapter 5](#), pp. 137–139.
- 126 For the Greek construction of girlhood, see [Chapter 2](#), pp. 43–44.
- 127 For other representations of bare-buttocked children, see Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*, 309, n. 48, with earlier bibliography; also J. G. Younger, “Gender and Sexuality in the Parthenon Frieze,” in Koloski-Ostrow and Lyons, eds., *Naked Truths*, 120–153; and [Chapter 6](#), p. 192.
- The suggestion of Metraux (*Sculptors and Physicians in Fifth-Century Greece*, 43–45) that the girl has lost her *zone* due to respiration is not supportable.
- 128 Of course, garments could be easily woven to size. Elizabeth Barber estimates the average size of the *peplos* as five feet by six, on the basis of visual representations and the size of the warp-weighted loom (“The Peplos of Athena,” 110).
- 129 Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones has noted a similar convention for images of Athena in Classical sculpture (“Sexy Athena: The Dress and Erotic Representation of a Virgin War-Goddess,” in S. Deacy and A. Villing, eds., *Athena in the Classical World* [Leiden, 2001], 246–254).
- 130 The *peplos*, in combination with a special back-mantle (see p. 119), remains the distinctive dress of *parthenoi* in fourth-century funerary and votive reliefs (Roccas, “Back-Mantle and Peplos,” 235–265).
- 131 See also the gemstone of Mikes, [Figure 5.14](#).
- 132 For more extensive discussion of diaphanous dress, see [Chapter 6](#), pp. 195–197.
- 133 Schmaltz, “Peplos und Chiton.”
- 134 See [Chapter 5](#), pp. 128–132.
- 135 First noted by Heuzey, *Histoire du costume antique*, 168–174, Figure 80; 191–196, Figures 93, 95, 96 (though perhaps this is a separate garment). Llewellyn-Jones incorrectly identifies it as a “*kolpos*-veil” (*Aphrodite’s Tortoise*, 59, Figures 57, 58 a and b, 62 [not a secure identification]).
- 136 See also the Boeotian grave stele of Polyxena, possibly a priestess, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1504 (= Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*, 83, [Figure 3.3](#); Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite’s Tortoise*, 59, Figure 57).
- 137 For veiling practices generally, see [Chapter 5](#), pp. 154–158.
- 138 Cohen, “Divesting the Female Breast of Clothes in Classical Sculpture,” 72–73, and Figure 5.
- 139 P. Storm, *Functions of Dress: Tool of Culture and the Individual* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1987), 127, [Figure 5.2](#). I know of only one image of a *kourotrophos* showing this arrangement of the *peplos*: Hellenistic terra cotta figurine, Boston Museum of Fine Arts 01.774.7, (= Neils and Oakley, eds., *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*, cat. no. 25). Images of *kourotrophoi* are rare in Greek art; see Bonfante, “Nursing Mothers in Classical Art.” Y. Morizot identifies the *peplos*-clad woman holding the infant in the Echinus relief ([Figure 7.10](#)) as the child’s wet nurse (“Offrandes à Artémis pour une naissance autour du relief d’Achinos,” in V. Dasen, ed., *Naissance et petite enfance dans l’Antiquité* [Göttingen, 2004], 162–163).
- 140 This section is a brief synthesis of my arguments in “Constru(ct)ing Gender in the Feminine Greek *Peplos*,” in Cleland, et al., eds., *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, 55–64.
- 141 L. Berczelly, “Pandora and the Panathenaia: The Pandora Myth and the Sculptural Decoration of the Parthenon,” *ActaAArtHist* 8 (1992): 61.
- 142 See especially Roccas, “Back-Mantle and Peplos”.
- 143 For other examples of transvestism, see [Chapter 7](#), pp. 220–221.
- 144 M. M. Lee, “Acheloös Peplophoros: A Lost Statuette of a River-God in Feminine Dress,” *Hesperia* 75 (2006): 317–325.
- 145 For the *chiton* generally, see Schmaltz, “Peplos und Chiton”; Losfeld, *L’art grec et le vêtement*, 121–141; *idem*, *Essai sur le costume grec*, 94–135; E. B. Harrison, “The Dress of the Archaic Greek Korai,” in D. Buitron-Oliver, ed., *New*

- Perspectives in Early Greek Art* (= CASVA Symposium Papers 16) (Washington, DC, 1991), 217–239; Pekridou-Gorecki, *Mode im antiken Griechenland*, 71–77, Figures 46–49; Ridgway, “The Fashion of the Elgin Kore,” Abrahams, *Greek Dress*, 57–72, Figure 26.
- 146 For buttons, see Chapter 5, pp. 133–134. The *chiton* of Phrasikleia (Figure 5.8) displays stitching on the sleeves. For an excellent photograph, see T. Ioannou-Giannara, *Hellenikes klostines syntheseis I: Dantales (Greek Threadwork)* (Athens, 1986), 126, Figure 101. Sewing was certainly employed on the sleeves of the Delphi charioteer, whose voluminous sleeves display fixed pleats (Morizot, “Les grecs, leurs vêtements, leur image,” 41, Figure 3).
- 147 Only women girded their *chitones*. Victoria Sabetai has collected several examples in fifth-century Athenian vase painting of women holding their *chitones* in their teeth in order to tie, or untie, their *zonai* (“Aspects of Nuptial and Genre Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens,” pp. 321–325, Figures 3–9); see here Figures 4.13, 7.7; also Figure 7.11. Male charioteers also employ belts and bands to keep their voluminous garments from flapping in the wind (see p. 112). For *zonai* generally, see Chapter 5, pp. 135–136.
- 148 The folds in some cases appear to replicate pleating (Barber, “The Felicitous Fold,” Figure 2; see discussion this chapter, p. 95).
- 149 Zofia Gansiniec considers the Homeric *heanos* a “prototype” of the linen *chiton* (“Heanos: Jónski kobiecyc *chiton* grecki wczesnoarchaiczne” [“Heanos: The Ionian Women’s *chiton* of early archaic Greece”]), *ArcheologiaWar* 17 [1966]: 41–48; English summary p. 48).
- 150 Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*, 255, n. 4, 295, n. 6; O. Szemerényi, “The Origins of the Greek Lexicon: *Ex Oriente Lux*,” *JHS* 94 (1974): 148.
- 151 M. Miller, “Reexamining Transvestism in Archaic and Classical Athens: The Zewadski Stamnos,” *AJA* 103 (1999): 223–253.
- 152 For the “golden cicadas,” see Chapter 3, p. 74 and Chapter 5, pp. 141.
- This passage, along with the passage cited earlier (p. 98) describing the adoption of athletic nudity, should be read as part of an evolutionary scheme in three stages: “(1) a period of insecurity when men had to carry weapons (1.5.3–6.2) ... (2) a time when citizens could go about unarmed and in luxurious attire (1.6.3) ... (3) the modern condition where dress was marked by egalitarian simplicity and athletes exercising nude (1.6.4–5)” (M. McDonnell, “The Introduction of Athletic Nudity: Thucydides, Plato, and the Vases,” *JHS* 111 [1991]: 189, with discussion p. 190). The significance of nudity and dress in this passage is discussed extensively in P.W. Ludwig, *Eros and Polis: Desire and Community in Greek Political Theory* (Cambridge, 2002), 261–318.
- 153 Although male characters wear the *chiton* in Aristophanes (Stone, *Costume in Aristophanic Comedy*, 171–172).
- 154 For example the dedication by Genelaos in the Samian Heraion (ca. 560).
- 155 Geddes, “Rags and Riches.” Variations of the *chiton* were also worn by priests, charioteers, and performers, as discussed later in this chapter.
- 156 Geddes, “Rags and Riches,” 321, 325.
- 157 The supposed hiatus of the *chiton* in the early Classical period is not supported by the evidence; see the discussion of the *peplos*, above.
- 158 On pins, see Chapter 5, pp. 128–133.
- 159 Stone, *Costume in Aristophanic Comedy*, 172–174. This is not to say that dress in Aristophanes is totally “realistic”: see J. Robson, “New Clothes, a New You: Clothing and Character in Aristophanes,” in Cleland, et al., eds., *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, 65–74.
- 160 Judith Schaeffer’s reinterpretation of the dress of the *korai* as comprising an under-*chiton* with a skirt has not been generally accepted (“The Costume of the Korai: A Re-interpretation,” *CSCA* 8 [1975]: 241–256; specific rebuttal by E. B. Harrison, “Notes on Daedalic Dress,” *JWalt* 36 [1977]: 44, n. 17).
- 161 Evelyn Harrison made the same observation for Daedalic sculpture (“Notes on Daedalic Dress” 47).
- For the polychromy of Phrasikleia, see Brinkmann, *Die Polychromie der archaischen und frühklassischen Skulptur*, cat. no. 174a; K. Karakasi, “Die practsvolle Erscheinung der Phrasikleia: Zur Polychromie der Korenstatue, Ein Rekonstruktions-versuch,” *AntW* 28 (1997): 509–517.

- 162 For the polychromy of the Chiot kore, see Brinkmann, *Die Polychromie der archaischen und frühklassischen Skulptur*, cat. no. 96. Phrasikleia's garment is adorned with rosettes and medallions, which are generally not represented on linen *chitones*. Perhaps this is a woolen garment after all.
- 163 Schmaltz, "Peplos und Chiton"; Bieber, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der griechische Tracht*, 34. For the range of variability in women's dress styles, see p. 14 and figure 1.3.
- 164 This scenario is further complicated by the use by some scholars of "Dorian *chiton*" in reference to the *peplos*.  
For a *chiton* with an "over-fold," used to gather fruit, see Figure 3.9; to carry a little girl's pet birds(? toys?), see Rühfel, *Das Kind in der griechischen Kunst*, 242, colorplate 92 a–b.
- 165 M. Rickert, "A Rhodian Stele," *AJA* 37.3 (1933): 407–411. Further examples are given in Roccos, "Back-Mantle and Peplos," 247–248.  
Brunilde Ridgway reinterpreted the dress of the Peplos kore as a *chiton*, *peplos*, and small cape ("The Peplos Kore, Acropolis 679," *JWalt* 36 [1977]: 49–61; contested by Robert M. Cook, "The Peplos Kore and its Dress," *JWalt* 37 [1978]: 84–87). Vincenz Brinkmann has recently identified the dress of the Peplos kore as including an *ependytes*: see p. 283, n. 249.
- 166 van Wees, "Clothes, Class and Gender in Homer," 19–25.
- 167 Geddes, "Rags and Riches," 311.
- 168 The *chiton cheirotodos*, or sleeved *chiton*, is a non-Greek garment, and is discussed on pp. 121–122.
- 169 For military dress, see Chapter 7, pp. 205–206. Mongols in the army of Genghis Khan wore silk garments under their body armor, which aided the removal of projectiles from the wound (R. Marshall, *Storm from the East: From Genghis Khan to Khubilai Khan* [Berkeley, CA, 1993], 37–40).
- 170 Geddes, "Rags and Riches," 312. A garment called *chitoniskos* is named by several classical authors (i.e., Aristophanes, *Birds*, 946; Lysias, *Against Theomnestus*, I. 10), but it is unclear whether this is identical with the short, sleeved, garment depicted in the visual sources.
- 171 In Figure 7.8, a patterned *chitoniskos* is worn by the prospective groom underneath a *chlamys* or *chlaina*, as part of his traveler's garb.
- 172 E. Parisinou, "The 'Language' of Female Hunting Outfit in Ancient Greece," in Llewellyn-Jones, ed., *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, 55–72; R. Veness, "Investing the Barbarian? The Dress of Amazons in Athenian Art," in Llewellyn-Jones, ed., *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, 95–110.
- 173 Though most of the Laconian bronze statuettes representing participants in the Heraia in fact wear a garment closer in structure to the *exomis*. A true *chitoniskos* is worn by the dancing maidens on a unique, fragmentary, red-figure *kylix* attributed to Makron in the J. Paul Getty Museum, 86.AE.315; see C. Bron, "The Sword Dance for Artemis," *GettyMusJ* 24 (1996): 69–83, Figures 1 and 2.
- 174 Although some of these may in fact be the *ependytes*; see pp. 123–124.
- 175 The *chitoniskos* worn by females is often girded, whereas the man's version is not.
- 176 Parisinou, "The 'Language' of Female Hunting Outfit in Ancient Greece"; Veness, "Investing the Barbarian?" Both authors note that this garment is also worn by female demons, such as the Erinyes.
- 177 For the inversion of masculine and feminine dress in rites of passage, see Chapter 7, pp. 200, 204.
- 178 *Exomis* means, literally, "off the shoulder." For general information, see Losfeld, *Essai sur le costume grec*, 90–94.
- 179 Pipili, "Wearing an Other Hat," 154; Serwint, "The Female Athletic Costume at the Heraia," 416–417.
- 180 This feature also distinguishes the dress of lowly workers from that of elite men, who generally do not employ girding.
- 181 Serwint, "The Female Athletic Costume at the Heraia."
- 182 For the dress of the Motya charioteer, see M. Denti, "Typologie et Iconographie de la Statue Masculine de Mozia," *RA* (1997): 107–128, esp. 111–113; M. Bell, III, "The Motya Charioteer and Pindar's *Isthmian* 2," *MAAR* 40 (1995): 1–42, esp. 5–6.

- 183 The Motya charioteer wears a broad band, probably of leather, to which the reins were attached. Shoulder cords are especially visible on the Delphi charioteer, whose garment more closely resembles a conventional *chiton*. For athletes' belts, see [Chapter 5](#), p. 137.
- 184 Chariot races are mentioned in Homer in the funeral games for Patroklos and were an essential part of the Panhellenic games as well as the Panathenaia (Miller, *Ancient Greek Athletics*, 75–82).
- 185 Hence, proper women generally wear an overgarment with the *chiton* (see p. 107). The *chiton*-clad woman unfastening her zone in [Figure 4.12](#) is clearly a courtesan. Maenads are often identifiable by the fact that they appear, scandalously, clad in only their diaphanous *chitones* (for example, on the late Archaic red-figure *kylix* by Makron in the Berlin Antikemuseen, no. F 2290).
- In Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, the women of Athens plan to seduce (and then deny) their husbands by wearing diaphanous *chitones* (42–48).
- 186 Darling, "Form and Ideology"; R. Osborne, "Looking On – Greek Style: Does the Sculpted Girl Speak to Women Too?" in I. Morris, ed., *Classical Greece Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies* (Cambridge, 1994), 92–95.
- 187 In this regard, the *peplos* might be regarded as a type of *epiblema*. The idea of these garments being wound around the body is better reflected in the alternative term *periblemata*.
- 188 General studies include Losfeld, *L'art grec et le vêtement*, 207–259; *idem*, *Essai sur le costume grec*, 136–170; Pekridou-Gorecki, *Mode im antiken Griechenland*, 82–84; J. Repond, *Les secrets de la draperie antique: de l'himation grec au pallium romain* (Rome, 1931).
- 189 As formulated by Bieber (*Griechische Kleidung*, 22–24).
- 190 Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*, 92; Bieber, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der griechische Tracht*, 32–33; *eadem*, *Griechische Kleidung*, 22–24. Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood suggested that the "difference is clearly correlative with the perception of males as above all active, and females as above all, and symbolically, passive" ("Reading" *Greek Death*, 231). For wearing the *himation epidexia*, see this chapter n. 199.
- 191 H. van Wees, "Greeks Bearing Arms: The State, the Leisure Class, and the Display of Weapons in Archaic Greece," in N. Fisher and H. van Wees, eds., *Archaic Greece: New Approaches and New Evidence* (London, 1998), 333–378.
- 192 Geddes, "Rags and Riches," 323–331. Beth Cohen further notes that the *himation* represented a "unified, Athenian civic body" ("Ethnic Identity in Democratic Athens and the Visual Vocabulary of Male Costume," in I. Malkin, ed., *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity* [Cambridge, MA, 2001], 258).
- 193 Bieber determined that there were nine possible ways of draping the man's *himation*, and twelve for women (*Griechische Kleidung*, 24).
- 194 For a typology of the arrangement of the *himation* in Classical grave reliefs, see Bergemann, *Demos und Thanatos*, 77. Jules Repond identified seven types worn by men and women in Greece and Rome (*Les secrets de la draperie antique: de l'himation grec au pallium romain* [Rome, 1931]).
- Geddes notes that the *himation* worn alone emphasizes physical fitness ("Rags and Riches," 324).
- For bodily display generally, see [Chapter 6](#), pp. 192–195.
- 195 The pose of a man leaning on his walking stick is discussed in van Wees, "Greeks Bearing Arms," 359–360. For walking sticks in general, see [Chapter 5](#), pp. 170–171.
- 196 Ferrari, *Figures of Speech*, 135–138, with earlier references. Compare [Figure 4.25](#), in which the seated and standing male figures wear their *himatia* in the same way as the figures in [Figure 3.11](#), and the figure completely enveloped in the *himation* is female.
- 197 For diaphanous or transparent garments, see [Chapter 6](#), pp. 195–197.
- 198 Geddes, "Rags and Riches," 312–313, 323–324.
- 199 The text reads, literally, *epidexia* ("on the right").
- 200 Translation: S. Everson, ed., *Aristotle: The Politics and the Constitution of Athens* (Cambridge, 1996).
- In his speech *Against Timarchus*, Aeschines notes that in the days of Pericles it was considered ill-mannered to speak with the



- arm outside one's garment (1.25; he does not specify the *himation*).
- 201 Compare his portrait of Obnoxiousness, p. 307, n. 143.
- 202 Translation adapted from H. Yunis, trans., *Demosthenes: Speeches 18 and 19* (Austin, 2005).
- 203 S. D. Messing, "The Nonverbal Language of the Ethiopian Toga," *Anthropos* 55 (1960): 558–561. The metaphor of dress as a language is discussed in [Chapter 1](#), pp. 20–21.
- 204 The practicality of the *himation* is underscored by its use as a wrapped baby carrier, as shown in an Attic column-krater in Padua attributed to the Tyszkiewicz Painter, dated ca. 480 BCE; see Shapiro, "Fathers and Sons, Men and Boys," 93, Figure 7b.
- 205 Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite's Tortoise*, especially pp. 54–56 and Figures 39–45. Veiling is further discussed on pp. 154–158.
- A series of terra cotta *kourotrophoi* from Rhodes dating to the middle of the fifth century show the *himation* extended over the heads of both the mother and child; see R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*<sup>2</sup> (London, 1969), cat. nos. 229, 230. Such images imply maternal protection, since *himatia* were sometimes employed as wrapped baby carriers (n. 204 above). For the erotic connotations of mantles shared by two adults, see pp. 119–120.
- 206 Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite's Tortoise*, 283–293.
- 207 B. Kleine, *Bilder tanzender Frauen in frühgriechischer und klassischer Zeit* (= *Internationale Archäologie* 89) (Rahden, 2005), 87–169; Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite's Tortoise*, 293–298 (though he identifies the garment as a *pharos*, not a *himation*, presumably on the basis of the appearance of the *pharos* as a feminine garment in Homer); E. Friesländer, "The Mantle Dancer in the Hellenistic Period: Glorification of the *Himation*," *Assaph* 6 (2001): 1–30. See also [Chapter 5](#), p. 156.
- 208 For images of women wearing the *himation* in this way, see Lewis, *The Athenian Woman*, Figures 2.18 and 2.19.
- 209 Losfeld, *L'art grec et le vêtement*, 259–276; *idem*, *Essai sur le costume grec*, 171–190; S. Lattimore, "The Chlamys of Daochos I," *AJA* 79 (1975): 87–88; L. Heuzey, "Notes sur quelques manteaux grecs: l'éphaptide et la zeira," *RÉG* 40 (1927): 1–5; *idem*, *Historie de la costume antique*, 115–141. For the fastener, see [Chapter 5](#), p. 134.
- 210 Szemerényi, "The Origins of the Greek Lexicon: *Ex Oriente Lux*," 148. *Chlaina* is used interchangeably with *himation* in Aristophanes (Geddes, "Rags and Riches," 313, n. 55).
- 211 Van Wees, "Clothes, Class and Gender in Homer," 2–3. The *pharos* is an alternative to the *chlaina*, draped over the shoulders without a pin.
- 212 Aristotle, *The Constitution of Athens*, 4.2.5. However, the *chlamys* did not comprise a "uniform" in the modern sense, as argued by T. Stevenson, "Cavalry Uniforms on the Parthenon Frieze?" *AJA* 107 (2003): 629–654. On the social category of *ephebes*, see [Chapter 2](#), p. 40.
- 213 For footwear, see [Chapter 5](#), pp. 160–164.
- 214 An extraordinary early representation is on the neck of an Early Protoattic *amphora* (ca. 690–680 BCE) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (21.88.18) (= van Wees, "Greeks Bearing Arms," 346, Figure 7).
- 215 C. Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, "Aspects of Ancient Macedonian Costume," *JHS* 113 (1993): 143–145. The literary sources she cites for the round shape are mostly Roman in date.
- 216 Such tassels represent the tied-off ends of the starting band on the loom; see p. 95.
- 217 A longer version of this garment is depicted on a series of Classical bronze votive statuettes from Arcadia representing shepherds (e.g., Louvre, Br 4248). For the special ring-type fastener, see p. 284, n. 14.
- 218 Bron, "The Sword Dance for Artemis."
- 219 E. David, "Dress in Spartan Society," *AncW* 19 (1989): 6.
- 220 David, "Dress in Spartan Society," 9.
- 221 David, "Dress in Spartan Society," 11.
- 222 For purple garments as ritual dress, see [Chapter 7](#), pp. 216–217.
- Compare the mantles of the Berlin *kore* (Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung 1800; Karakasi pl. 234) and the Pomegranate *kore* (Acropolis Museum, 593; Karakasi pl. 238), both of which also display corner tassels (see p. 95).
- 223 Roccas, "Back-Mantle and *Peplos*"; *eadem*, "The Kanephoros and Her Festival Mantle in Greek Art." For *kanephoroi*, see [Chapter 7](#), pp. 201–03.
- 224 Or perhaps the *ependytes*; see this chapter, p. 283, nn. 249 and 250.

- 225 F. Perusino, “L’egkuklon, un mantello femminile nelle commedie di Aristofane,” *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 72 (2002): 129–133.
- 226 N. S. Rabinowitz, “Excavating Women’s Homoeroticism in Ancient Greece: The Evidence from Attic Vase Painting,” in N. S. Rabinowitz and L. Auanger, eds., *Among Women: From the Homosocial to the Homoerotic in the Ancient World* (Austin, 2002), 130–132; G. Koch-Harnack, *Erotische Symbole: Lotosblüte und gemeinsamer Mantel auf antiken Vasen* (Berlin, 1989), 111–185; H. Buchholz, “Das Symbol des Gemeinsamen Mantels,” *JdI* 102 (1987): 1–55.
- 227 For intentional bodily display, see [Chapter 6](#), pp. 192–195.
- 228 Riis, “Ancient Types of Garments,” 153. Strabo, a late source, says Amazons make their helmets, clothing, and girdles from the skins of animals (11.5.1; see Veness, “Investing the Barbarian?”).
- According to a late source, Spartan helots were reminded of their servile position by being made to wear skins (David, “Dress in Spartan Society,” 8). Skins are employed as cloaks by rustics in Attic vase painting (Pipili, “Wearing an Other Hat,” 169, [Figures 6.6](#) and [6.7](#)).
- 229 This is especially true in the Classical period. See Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens* (many examples); discussion also in Losfeld, *Essai sur le costume grec*, 308–312. Some native Greek divinities and heroes wear animal skins, for example, Athena (*aegis*) and Herakles (lion skin; e.g., [Figure 3.18](#)) (Riis, “Ancient Types of Garments,” 154–160). The myths surrounding these suggests that the garments may be read as reflections of triumph over disorder. On the other hand, mythical huntresses such as Artemis and Atalante also wear animal skins, demonstrating a rejection of Greek constructions of femininity (Parisinou, “The ‘Language’ of Female Hunting Outfit in Ancient Greece”).
- 230 Riis, “Ancient Types of Garments,” 170–174. Maria Vos argues that in reality the garment worn over the legs was more voluminous, but that it was easier for vase painters to depict it as skintight (*Scythian Archers in Archaic Attic Vase Painting*, 40). Elizabeth Barber has suggested that the leggings are in fact made

using the sprang technique discussed earlier in this chapter (personal communication).

- 231 The literature here is extensive. See in particular J. M. Barringer, “Scythian Hunters on Attic Vases,” in C. Marconi, ed., *Greek Vases: Images, Contexts and Controversies* (Leiden, 2004), 13–25; Sparkes, “Some Greek Images of Others,” 137–144; F. Lissarrague, *L’autre guerrier: Archers, peltastes, cavaliers dans l’imagerie attique* (Paris, 1990); H. A. Shapiro, “Amazons, Thracians, and Scythians,” *GRBS* 24 (1983): 105–115; Vos, *Scythian Archers in Archaic Attic Vase painting*, esp. 40–51 on costume and armament.

For the polychromed garments of the archers on the west pediment of the late Archaic temple of Aphaia on Aegina, see Brinkmann and Wünsche, *Gods in Color*, 71–97; Brinkmann, *Die Polychromie der archaischen und frühklassischen Skulptur*, cat. no. 281 (compare cat. no. 56, the so-called Persian Rider from the Athenian Acropolis). Brinkmann, perhaps following Vos (*Scythian Archers in Archaic Attic Vase painting*, 47), suggests that the leggings might be made of leather with felt appliqué.

A. I. Ivanchik has argued that “‘Scythian’ costume was not an indication of ethnic origin for Attic vase-painters and their customers” (“Who were the ‘Scythian’ Archers on Archaic Attic Vases?” in D. Braund, ed., *Scythians and Greeks: Cultural Interactions in Scythia, Athens and the Early Roman Empire* [Exeter, 2005], 113). For other examples of Greek appropriation of foreign garments, see below.

- 232 For barbarian tattooing, see [Chapter 3](#), pp. 84–86. Headgear worn by foreigners was often made of animal skins; see [Chapter 5](#), p. 160.
- 233 The Old Oligarch (Pseudo-Xenophon) tells us that, unlike other Greeks, the Athenians adopted the speech, diet, and dress of other Greeks and barbarians alike (*Constitution of the Athenians*, 2.8).
- 234 Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC*, 156–165, with earlier bibliography. Although the typical Greek *chiton* was usually linen, the *chiton cheirotodos* may have been made of wool, to judge from its appearance in the monuments. *Chiton cheirotodos* is absent from the epigraphic sources; Miller identifies “sleeved” *chitones* as the *chiton cheirotodos*.

- 235 E. R. Knauer, “Toward a History of the Sleeved Coat: A Study of the Impact of an Ancient Eastern Garment on the West,” *Expedition* 21 (1978): 18–36, esp. 21–24 for the ancient evidence.
- 236 After A. W. Barker, “The Costume of the Servant on the Grave-Relief of Hegeso, *AJA* 28 (1924): 290–292. Barker argues that the sleeved garment is in fact worn underneath a sleeveless overgarment.
- 237 For example, Schulze, *Ammen und Pädagogen*, 22–23, cat. no. AV 9. On the *zeira*, see pp. 124–125.
- 238 Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC*, 158, Figure 66.
- 239 Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC*, 159, Figure 72. For images of Girls on *choes*, see [Chapter 2](#) p. 43.
- Miller suggests that the *chiton cheirotodos* appears also on the Parthenon frieze (*Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC*, 161), although these figures could be *metics*, whom we know from literary evidence did participate in the Panathenaia.
- 240 Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC*, 161.
- 241 Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC*, 165–170; T. Linders, “The Kandys in Greece and Persia,” *Opuscula Atheniensa* 15 (1984): 107–114.
- 242 Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC*, 165, Figure 65. The fashion of wearing the sleeved coat with empty sleeves continued into the modern period (Knauer, “Toward a History of the Sleeved Coat”).
- 243 Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC*, Figures 80–81; Knauer, “Toward a History of the Sleeved Coat,” Figure 7.
- 244 B. M. Kingsley, “The Stele of Myttion,” *GettyMusJ* 2 (1975): 7–14.
- 245 Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC*, Figures 84 (girl with undergarment), 85–88 (boys with open *kandys*); Knauer, “Toward a History of the Sleeved Coat,” Figures 9–11.
- 246 Cleland, *The Brauron Clothing Catalogues*, 66; Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC*, 165–166.
- 247 Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC*, 170–183; *eadem*, “The *Ependytes* in Classical Athens.”
- 248 As it was, perhaps, in antiquity: Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC*, 176.
- 249 Vincenz Brinkmann has recently argued, on the basis of the remaining pigments, that the so-called *Peplos kore* in fact wears an *ependytes* (*Die Polychromie der archaischen und frühklassischen Skulptur*, 78; *Gods in Color*, 46–48).
- 250 If Brinkmann is correct in his identification of the dress of the *Peplos kore* as an *ependytes* (see this chapter n. 165), it would seem that the garment was adopted as early as the sixth century BCE.
- 251 “The *Ependytes* in Classical Athens,” 327.
- 252 For other examples, see Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC*, 179, n. 177. For fringe as a foreign element, see this chapter, p. 95.
- 253 Examples listed in Miller, “The *Ependytes* in Classical Athens,” 327–328.
- 254 Miller, “The *Ependytes* in Classical Athens,” 329.
- 255 Heuzey, “Notes sur quelques manteaux grecs,” 5–16.
- 256 Tsiafakis, “The Allure and Repulsion of Thracians in the Art of Classical Athens,” with earlier bibliography.
- 257 Cohen, “Ethnic Identity in Democratic Athens and the Visual Vocabulary of Male Costume,” 247–251; Lissarrague, *L’autre guerrier*, 217–231; H. A. Cahn, “Dokimasia,” *RA* 1 (1973): 13–15; Vos, *Scythian Archers in Archaic Attic Vase Painting*, 52–58.
- 258 Geddes, “Rags and Riches,” 321.
- 259 Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC*, 165.
- 260 Men do wear eastern (that is, Ionian) dress in the so-called Anacreontic vases ([Chapter 7](#), p. 220). But the *chiton* and *himation* combination should be viewed as more of an anachronism than an adoption of foreign styles.
- 261 Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC*, 184–186.

## CHAPTER 5: ACCESSORIES

- 1 See the classification system for dress established by Roach-Higgins and Eicher, [Chapter 1](#), and [Table 1.1](#).

Accessories have received less attention from theorists than other aspects of dress. An

- exception is C. Giorcelli and P. Rabinowitz, eds., *Accessorizing the Body: Habits of Being I* (Minneapolis, 2011), which focuses exclusively on modern and postmodern dress.
- 2 A concise overview of dress fasteners can be found as an appendix to Alden, “Ancient Greek Dress,” 12–13.
  - 3 P. Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins and Their Connexions with Europe and Asia* (Oxford, 1956), 96–105. The simple form of the straight pin makes it difficult to distinguish from other shaft-type objects recovered archaeologically, such as needles and surgical instruments (J. A. Maurer, “On Pins and Needles,” *Classical Weekly* 44.11 [1951]: 161–165).
  - 4 For dedications of garments in Greek sanctuaries, see [Chapter 7](#), pp. 218–220.
  - 5 For dress fasteners as luxurious funerary offerings not associated with garments, see G. Shepherd, “Fibulae and Females: Intermarriage in the Western Greek Colonies and the Evidence from the Cemeteries,” in G. R. Tsatsikhladze, ed., *Ancient Greeks West and East* (Leiden, 1999), 286–287.
  - 6 Indeed, many graves are assumed to be “female” on the basis of the presence of pins. A. Strömberg’s study of the Iron Age burials from Athens demonstrates that straight pins, and especially pins found in pairs, are indicators of female sex in the Protogeometric and Geometric periods (*Male or Female? A Methodological Study of Grave Gifts as Sex-Indicators in Iron Age Burials from Athens* [Jönköping, 1993], 94, figs. 11 and 12).
  - 7 For so-called figure pins, which are generally rare in Greece, see Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins*, 52–84. The remarkable golden “sphinx” and “capital” pins in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, found in a grave in the northwest Peloponnese dating to the end of the fifth century, are exceptional in every way, and do not reflect common practice. For discussion, see Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins*, 65–71.
  - 8 Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins*, 13–15.
  - 9 Jacobsthal notes that their flimsiness makes them unsuitable as regular dress pins and suggests that they might have been used to secure lightweight veils or shawls, or as hairpins (*Greek Pins*, 7, 34, 91). A significant number of these were recovered from the Ephesos hoard; see [Chapter 7](#), p. 219.
  - 10 A. Brueckner, “Mitteilungen aus dem Kerameikos II,” *AM* 51 (1926): 136–137 and pl. 6.
  - 11 Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins*, 114. The pins in a geometric grave from Corinth were discovered with the points facing downward (G. R. Davidson, *Corinth XII: The Minor Objects* [Princeton, NJ, 1952], 276 and Figure 64).
  - 12 Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins*, 95.
  - 13 Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins*, 106–111.
  - 14 A possible exception is a series of Arcadian bronze statuettes from the early fifth century depicting shepherds wearing thick mantles secured by a large straight pin terminating in a ring (Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins*, 106, and Figure 330; see also p. 281, n. 217). These pins are distinct from those used to secure the *peplos*; to my knowledge, no examples have been recovered archaeologically.
  - 15 It is interesting to note that although many other female figures on the vase wear *peploi*, none of them displays pins. It is perhaps significant that the two figures wearing pins have bound hairstyles, whereas most other females on the vase have long hair that cascades down the back. For women’s hairstyles, see [Chapter 3](#), pp. 72–74.
  - 16 See, for example, Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*<sup>2</sup>, cat. nos. 647, 978, 980, 981, 983, 986, 991, 993. Many examples survive from the Argive Heraion, where actual dress fasteners were also dedicated. The terra cottas do not show a stickpin, but the chain is suspended from two round bosses that seem to represent brooches (see p. 132). For a silver chain suspended from bow fibulae, dating to the late fifth century, see D. Williams and J. Ogden, *Greek Gold: Jewelry of the Classical World* (New York, 1994), 52, cat. no. 6.
  - 17 The same can be argued for the pins fastening the *peplos* of Eriphyle in [Figure 5.12](#).
  - 18 See [Chapter 4](#), p. 100. Although I have generally avoided discussion of Homeric dress, which represents a different tradition from that of the Archaic and Classical periods, it is relevant here in order to understand the historicity of the *perone*, which seems to have survived in art and literature of the sixth and fifth centuries primarily as a holdover from the “age of heroes.”
  - 19 This passage has been the source of much debate regarding the function of the twelve *peronai*. Since only two would have been required to fasten the *peplos* at the shoulders,

- Studniczka suggested that the remaining ten were used to secure the open edges of the garment along the side of the body (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der altgriechischen Tracht*, 96); Abrahams thought that the extras were fastened along the upper arms to create sleeves (*Greek Dress*, 32; more likely buttons: see p. 133). Citing the presence of multiple pins in graves, Lorimer suggested that the twelve pins were given to afford variety (*Homer and the Monuments*, 381). Jacobsthal identifies the passage as referring to “two gold pins and six gold fibulae” (*Greek Pins*, 93). Richmond Lattimore’s translation suggests fibulae rather than straight pins: “twelve double pins, golden/all though, and fitted with bars that opened and closed easily” (*The Odyssey of Homer* [New York, 1965], 288).
- 20 For the problems surrounding the identification of the pinned Dorian dress described by Herodotus with the *peplos*, see [Chapter 4](#), pp. 101–102.
- 21 Jenkins, “Dressed to Kill,” 29–32.
- 22 C. W. Marshall, “The Costume of Hecuba’s Attendants,” *Acta Classica* 44 (2001): 127–136. Marshall rightly notes the vulnerability of women wearing the *peplos*, which is easily unpinned to expose the breast(s). For the divestment of women’s breasts, see [Chapter 4](#), pp. 100–106; and [Chapter 6](#), pp. 190–192.
- 23 N. Loraux, *Tragic Ways of Killing a Woman*, trans. A. Forster (Cambridge, MA, 1987), esp. 7–30; also Jenkins, “The Ambiguity of Greek Textiles,” 120–122, with earlier bibliography.
- 24 M. I. Marcus, “Dressed to Kill: Women and Pins in Early Iran,” *Oxford Art Journal* 17.2 (1994): 3–15. Marcus reaches similar conclusions in “Incorporating the Body: Adornment, Gender, and Social Identity in Ancient Iran,” *CAJ* 3:2 (1993): 157–178; and “Sex and the Politics of Female Adornment in Pre-Achaemenid Iran (1000–800 B.C.E.),” in Kampen, ed., *Sexuality in Ancient Art*, 41–54.
- 25 Van Wees, “Greeks Bearing Arms.” See further discussion on pp. 170–171. Van Wees argues that the decline in weapons display reflects an increased interest in leisure, which is also apparent in the adoption of the *chiton* (see [Chapter 4](#), p. 110).
- 26 *Homer and the Monuments* (London, 1950), 351–352. On the other hand, shafts of bone and ivory, variously interpreted as dress pins, hairpins, needles, and writing *styli*, have survived in great quantities from later periods. See, for example, Davidson, *Corinth XII*, 173–174, 185–187, 278–287.
- 27 Representations of straight pins in fifth century vase painting are discussed by Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins*, 107–112. Straight pins appear on the vases of a very few painters (most notably the Villa Giulia Painter and the Niobid Painter), and are generally reserved for mythological figures. An exception, perhaps, is the name-vase of the Villa Giulia Painter depicting a chorus of dancing women, one of whom wears a *peplos* with straight pins. (Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins*, Figure 333; cf. [Figure 4.18](#)) This figure is exceptional, however, on account of the frontal face.
- 28 As suggested by Congdon (*Caryatid Mirrors of Ancient Greece*, 85).
- 29 B. S. Ridgway notes that such holes are generally limited to sculptures made in the Cyclades (“Two Peplophoroi in the United States,” 214), but they are absent on the famous “Girl with Doves” from Paros ([Figure 4.8](#)). Such holes are much more common in Roman copies; perhaps Roman copyists provided them to “explain” the draping of the garment, which was otherwise unknown to them.
- 30 For full discussion of the appearance of dress fasteners in Early Classical sculpture, see Lee, “The Myth of the Classical *Peplos*,” 270–339, and Addendum 4, Table 5.F, p. 347.
- 31 F. M. Marshall, *Catalogue of Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum* (Oxford, 1969) 80 and pl. 10, no. 1035. Brooches are discussed, together with *fibulae* later in this chapter.
- 32 The fundamental study remains C. Blinkenberg, *Fibules grecques et orientales* (= *Lindiaka* 5) (Copenhagen, 1926). Round fasteners sometimes identified as “brooches” are included in this category (Blinkenberg type XV).
- 33 Miniature fibulae were made specifically as dedications in sanctuaries (Blinkenberg, *Fibules grecques et orientales*, 194–196).
- 34 Heuzey suggested that the Thracian *zeira* was fastened with a “fibule très simple” (“Notes sur quelques manteaux grecs,” 7), but no fastener is discernible in his example.
- 35 In Italy, fibulae have been interpreted as indicators of either intermarriage or trade between Greek colonists and locals (see T. Hodos, “Intermarriage in the Western

- Greek Colonies,” *OJA* 18.1 [1999]: 61–78; Shepherd, “Fibulae and Females”). Although archaeologists have identified fibulae as markers of ethnicity, it is unclear to what degree they were considered as such in antiquity.
- 36 Attached animal figures are especially common in the islands; see Blinkenberg, *Fibules grecques et orientales*, figs. 89, 95, 96, 98 (birds); 114 (lions and beardless human protome). Boeotian *fibulae* are distinguished by large catch-plates with incised designs, including mythological scenes comparable to those found in vase painting of the same period; see Blinkenberg, *Fibules grecques et orientales*, figs. 195–197 (Herakles battling the Molione twins); figs. 214–216 (the gorgon Medusa).
- Especially elaborate gold *fibulae* dating to the end of the fourth century are illustrated in Ogden, *Greek Gold*, 78, cat no. 33; 217, cat no. 151.
- 37 See Chapter 4, pp. 101–102.
- 38 Acropolis *kore* 684 displays drilled holes into which metal bosses were inserted; see Karakasi, *Archaic Korai*, pl. 194e for a clear photograph.
- 39 See especially the discussion by Morizot, “Les grecs, leurs vêtements, leur image,” 37–43; also Harrison, “The Dress of the Archaic Greek Korai,” 230–232, who suggests that such fasteners might have been made of cloth or knotted thread (238, n. 47).
- 40 K. Elderkin, “Buttons and Their Use on Greek Garments,” *AJA* 32 (1928): 333–345. For *peronai* as fasteners for the sleeves of the *chiton*, see p. 285 n. 19.
- 41 Elderkin, “Buttons and Their Use on Greek Garments,” 340–344; Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins*, 112–113; Davidson, *Corinth XII*, 296–304 (mostly post-Greek).
- 42 D. E. L. Haynes, “A Pin and Four Buttons from Greece,” *BMQ* 23.2 (1961): 48–49, pl. 22 a–b.
- 43 Morizot, “Les grecs, leurs vêtements, leur image,” 41.
- 44 Elderkin, “Buttons and Their Use on Greek Garments,” 338.
- 45 Such fasteners appear most frequently on images of *kanephoroi* wearing the *peplos* with back-mantle. See Chapter 7, pp. 201–203, and Figure 7.3.
- 46 Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins*, 113.
- 47 D. Stupka created a typology of fifteen varieties of belts in the artistic record, and attempted to identify them with the terms employed by ancient authors (“Der Gürtel in der griechischen Kunst,” PhD thesis, Vienna, 1972). Although Stupka’s typology has not been widely adopted, her study remains the most in-depth study of Greek belts to date. The recent volume by C. Schopphoff, *Der Gürtel: Funktion und Symbolik eines Kleidungsstücks in Antike und Mittelalter* (Vienna, 2009) relies heavily on Stupka in her discussion of the ancient Greek material.
- 48 For the *strophion*, see Chapter 4, pp. 98–100; the other terms are discussed in this chapter.
- 49 As seen in Figure 7.7, discussed in Chapter 7, pp. 208–210.
- 50 P. Schmitt Pantel, “La ceinture des Amazones: entre mariage et guerre, une histoire de genre,” in Gherchanoc and Huet, eds., *Vêtements antiques*, 28.
- It is worth noting that Athena is herself generally shown wearing an over-girded *peplos*, denoting her own virginal status; see Chapter 4, p. 103.
- 51 Hera also wears a *kestos himas*; see pp. 137–139.
- Elizabeth Barber believes the tasseled *zone* is a reference to the “string skirt” worn by sexually available women as early as the Paleolithic period (*Prehistoric Textiles*, 257).
- 52 H. Winkler, *Die tiefe Gürtung: Ein verkanntes Motiv der griechischen Frauenbekleidung* (Rheinfelden, 1996), 12–20. Winkler’s study traces “deep-girding” as a literary motif, and attempts to trace the archaeological and visual evidence for the practice from the Bronze Age through the Roman period. Although scholars have argued for over a century as to the meaning of *bathyzonos*, Winkler argues that it refers to a *zone* worn around the hips that is visible (i.e., not covered by the *kolpos*) (*Die tiefe Gürtung*, 12–15).
- 53 Bennett, *Belted Heroes and Bound Women*, 145. Bennett likens the social meanings of the Homeric *zone* with those surrounding the European corset (140, n. 78).
- 54 *Parthenoi* who remained unmarried were particularly susceptible to suicide by hanging or strangulation.
- 55 Schmitt Pantel, “La ceinture des Amazones,” 28–30.



Archaeological evidence for the Archaic and Classical *zone* is virtually nonexistent. The belt itself was made of perishable materials, and was tied (customarily with a “Herakles-knot”; see pp. 137–138) rather than fastened with a buckle or clasp (common in later periods), which might be recoverable archaeologically.

Ionian bronze belts derived from Phrygian prototypes are common finds in sanctuary contexts dating to the eighth and seventh centuries. Although Boardman suggested that such belts were worn by women (“Ionian Bronze Belts,” *Anadolu* 6 [1961/2]: 188–189), Bennett has convincingly argued that they are primarily men’s military belts (43–57); see pp. 136–137.

- 56 Sabetai, “Aspects of Nuptial and Genre Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens,” 328.
- 57 C. M. Edwards, “The Running Maiden from Eleusis and the Early Classical Image of Hekate,” *AJA* 90.3 (1986): 315.
- 58 Discussed especially by Sabetai, “Aspects of Nuptial and Genre Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens,” 321–328. Sabetai uses as her point of departure a red-figure *pyxis* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art depicting various stages of bridal preparations (Figure 7.7; see Chapter 7, pp. 208–210), on which the tying of the *zone* is not actually depicted.
- 59 The excess fabric will billow over the belt to form the so-called *kolpos* (see Chapter 4, p. 100); compare Figure 7.7. The gemstone of Mikes (Figure 5.14) also depicts the adornment of the bride, who wears a belt secured with a knot or amulet.
- 60 See Chapter 7, pp. 207–212.
- 61 J. Svenbro, *Phrasikleia: An Anthropology of Reading in Ancient Greece*, trans. J. Lloyd (Ithaca, 1993), 17.
- 62 Belts are especially common among early *korai* (e.g., Nikandre, the “Auxerre Goddess,” the “Pomegranate kore” from the Athenian Acropolis [no. 593]), and especially those from East Greece, whose *chitones* are often specially arranged to display the girding.
- 63 The unbelted *peplos* worn by Artemis in this image underscores her role as protectress of young girls. For dedications of belts and other articles of dress to Artemis, see Chapter 7, p. 207 and pp. 213–14.
- 64 Fig. 5.15 displays two *kolpoi*, suggesting two *zonai* (see Chapter 4, p. 103).
- 65 Interestingly, the modern Greek *zonari* was worn during pregnancy and for forty days following childbirth; it was thought “to bring good luck when having children” (L. Welters, “Women’s Traditional Dress in the Provinces of Argolida and Corinthia, Part I: Stability and Change,” *Ethnographica* 7 [1989]: 25).
- 66 For maternity dress in ancient Greece, see Chapter 7, pp. 212–214.
- 67 As suggested by Darling, “Form and Ideology.”
- 68 An exception, perhaps, is the belted, sleeved garment worn by the standing woman in Figure 4.23: although most identify her as a Thracian nurse, on the basis of the garment Margaret Miller believes she is the mother (see Chapter 4, p. 122). Perhaps the presence of the belt in this case is an argument in support of her Greek identity.
- 69 Bennett, *Belted Heroes and Bound Women*, 67–102. See also now Schmitt Pantel, “La ceinture des Amazones.”
- 70 Bennett, *Belted Heroes and Bound Women*, 51–57. For military armor, see Chapter 7, pp. 205–206.
- 71 It is on the basis of these belts that Ridgway identifies the early *kouroi* as representations of war-like Apollo (*The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*<sup>2</sup>, 72–74).
- 72 Golden, *Sport and Society in Ancient Greece*, 23–28.
- 73 For the *chiton* worn by charioteers, see Chapter 4, pp. 112–113.
- 74 For the belt of the Motya charioteer, see Bell, “The Motya Charioteer and Pindar’s *Isthmian* 2,” 3–4, and figs. 3–4.
- 75 Such bands are distinct from the wider band identified as the *strophion* (Stafford, “Viewing and Obscuring the Female Breast,” 105), on which see Chapter 4, pp. 98–100.
- 76 A. Villing, “KESTOS, ZOSTER and Athena’s Cross-Band Aegis: Anatomy of a Classical Attribute,” in G. R. Tsetsikhladze, et al., eds., *Periplus: Papers on Classical Art and Archaeology Presented to Sir John Boardman* (London, 2000), 361–369.
- 77 Villing, “KESTOS, ZOSTER and Athena’s Cross-Band Aegis,” 367. For the social category *parthenos*, see Chapter 2, p. 45; for the *arkteia*, see Chapter 7, p. 200.

- 78 Roccos notes that some girls, too young for marriage, wear breast-bands with their *chitones* (“Back-Mantle and Peplos,” 247; see, for example, Neils and Oakley, eds., *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*, 78, Figure 14). Perhaps these bands are better understood as amulets.
- 79 Villing, “KESTOS, ZOSTER and Athena’s Cross-band Aegis,” 367. For amulets, see pp. 152–154.
- 80 The significance of this knot has been thoroughly discussed in A. M. Nicgorski, “The Iconography of the Herakles Knot and the Herakles-Knot Hairstyle of Apollo and Aphrodite,” PhD thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1995. The knot has a long symbolic history in Egypt and Greece, and generally represents protection. The virginal connotations of the knot are discussed on pp. 116–119.
- 81 Roccos, “Back-Mantle and Peplos,” 246. Roccos further suggests that the cross-bands were dedicated to Artemis along with the *zone* prior to marriage.
- 82 *Kestos* was the name given to an early type of brassière popular in the United States in the 1930s (M. Alden, “Divine Underwear – in All the Better Shops,” *Omnibus* 36 [1998]: 32–33).
- 83 She also wears a *zone* with a hundred tassels; see p. 135. Aphrodite is represented wearing cross-straps in Hellenistic and Roman sculpture. See, for example, F. Naumann-Steckner, “Greek Jewelry and Its Representation,” in D. Williams, ed., *The Art of the Greek Goldsmith* (London, 1998), 95–98, Figure 13.3 and color-plate 13; H. Hoffmann and P. F. Davidson, *Greek Gold: Jewelry from the Age of Alexander* (New York, 1965), 9, Figure D.
- 84 C. Faraone, “Aphrodite’s KESTOS and Apples for Atalanta: Aphrodisiacs in Early Greek Myth and Ritual,” *Phoenix* 44.3 (1990): 219–243.
- 85 The dancers have also been interpreted as *hetairai* performing a dance for Aphrodite as goddess of vegetation and fertility. See discussion in N. Kaltsas and A. Shapiro, eds., *Worshipping Women: Ritual and Reality in Classical Athens* (New York, 2008), 326–327, cat. no. 146. For other dancers with cross-straps, see J. H. Oakley, *The Phiale Painter* (Mainz am Rhein, 1990), 37–38, n. 259.
- 86 For transparent garments, see Chapter 6, pp. 195–197.
- 87 For the ceramic technique (also visible in Figure 7.15), see B. Cohen, “Added Clay and Gilding in Athenian Vase Painting,” in B. Cohen, ed., *The Colors of Clay: Special Techniques in Athenian Vases* (Los Angeles, 2006), 106–117; and *eadem*, “Bubbles = Baubles, Bangles and Beads: Added Clay in Athenian Vase Painting and Its Significance,” in C. Marconi, ed., *Greek Vases: Images, Contexts and Controversies* (Leiden, 2004), 55–71.
- 88 It is possible that women regularly wore such bands underneath their garments, but they are not visible in the artistic sources. See the discussion regarding amulets, pp. 152–154.
- 89 Roccos, “Back-Mantle and Peplos,” 247; also discussed by Villing, “KESTOS, ZOSTER and Athena’s Cross-band Aegis,” 367–368. Similar bands with disks are discernible in Indian sculpture of the second century BCE and later. See J. Boardman, “The Archaeology of Jewelry,” in A. Calinescu, ed., *Ancient Jewelry and Archaeology* (Bloomington, IN, 1996), 4, and Figure 1.
- 90 For the *chiton cheiroidotos*, see Chapter 4, pp. 121–122; for the cross-straps, see Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC*, 182.
- 91 An exception is metal appliqué on garments, discussed on p. 95.
- 92 As indicated by the blockbuster “Greek Gold: Jewelry of the Classical World,” exhibited at the British Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1994–1995. Underwritten by Cartier, the exhibition was criticized for its commercialism. Many other modern jewelers have been influenced by ancient Greek designs, perhaps most notably the Greek designer Ilias Lalounis, who has also supported the collection, study, and publication of ancient jewelry.
- 93 Issues surrounding archaeological context are addressed by M. Pfrommer, “Unprovenanced Greek Jewellery: The Question of Distribution,” in D. Williams, *The Art of the Greek Goldsmith* (London, 1998), 79–83; see also various contributions in A. Calinescu, *Ancient Jewelry and Archaeology* (Bloomington, IN, 1996).
- 94 A good overview of the functions of ancient Greek jewelry is Boardman, “The Archaeology of Jewelry.”
- Until recently, jewelry carried much more significance in Anglo-American society. A

generation ago, a single earring in the right ear marked a man as homosexual. In the nineteenth century, bereaved women wore mourning jewelry, often made with the hair of the deceased. Today, perhaps the most significant articles of jewelry are engagement and wedding rings.

- 95 For a gold pin recovered from a grave identified as a family heirloom, see p. 311, n. 70.
- The importance of jewelry in communicating personal wealth is implied by the use of “costume” jewelry made of gilded bronze or terra cotta (e.g., Williams and Ogden, *Greek Gold*, 11, Figure 3). Whether such articles were worn in life, or made for the sanctuary or grave, is not clear.
- 96 Pompous: Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae*, 632; foppish: Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 331–332.
- 97 The identification of the *tettix* remains elusive. Andreas Rumpf believed that the passage referred to golden crowns decorated with images of insects (“Tettix,” *Symbola coloniensa* I [Köln, 1949], 85–99), on which see p. 144. Thomas Schäfer identifies the *tettix* as a metal “sheet” visible between the fingers of the youth crowning himself on the famous Sounion stele (T. Schäfer, “Dikella, Terma und Tettix: zur Palästritenstele von Sunion,” *AM* 111 [1996]: 123–133).
- 98 See p. 220, on the so-called Anacreontic vases.
- The Persian hunters on a Kerch-style squat *lekythos* in the Hermitage wear bracelets and torques created with gilded relief (see Cohen, ed., *The Colors of Clay*, cat. no. 37). Some Cypriot terra cottas show men wearing nose rings: e.g., Marshall, *Catalogue of Jewellery*, 167, Figure 48; J. M. Hemelrijk, “Some Ear Ornaments in Archaic Cypriot and East Greek Art,” *BABesch* 38 (1963): 31, Figure 7.
- 99 Gold jewelry has been recovered from men’s graves in Scythia, which was north and east from mainland Greece; see Williams and Ogden, *Greek Gold*, cat. nos. 71–80.
- 100 Sealey, *Women and Law in Classical Greece*, 26; see also Vêrilhac and Vial, *Le mariage grec*, 177–183. For garments as part of the *paraphernalia*, see [Chapter 4](#), p. 96.
- 101 Dalby, “Levels of Concealment,” 113, 115.
- 102 For an overview, see B. Cohen, “Les bijoux et la construction de l’identité féminine dans

l’ancienne Athènes,” in Gherchanoc and Huet, eds., *Vêtements antiques*, 149–164.

- 103 Compare the personification of *Pompe* in [Figure 7.11](#), which shares much with bridal imagery.
- 104 The bridal *zone* is discussed on pp. 135–136. The various types of jewelry are discussed later (pp. 142–154), as are veiling practices (pp. 160–164) and footwear (pp. 154–158).
- 105 For the ceramic technique, see p. 288, n. 87.
- 106 Proper adult women handle their own jewelry, for example, Hegeso on her grave stele ([Figure 4.22](#)), suggesting that they maintain control over their possessions (including, in this case, her foreign-born servant). Non-Greek women do not generally wear jewelry but are adorned instead with tattoos (see [Chapter 3](#), pp. 84–86).
- 107 For *korai* as “symbolic capital,” representing maidens who were exchanged between aristocratic families by means of marriage, see Osborne, “Looking On – Greek Style,” 88–92.
- 108 Stieber, *The Poetics of Appearance in the Attic Korai*, 141–178, which is a revised version of “Phrasikleia’s Lotuses,” *Boreas* 19 (1996): 69–99. Subsequent references to Stieber’s argument will be to the monograph.
- 109 The inventories of the sacred island of Delos include about sixty terms for jewelry dedications: see C. Prêtre, *Kosmos et kosmema: Les offrandes de parure dans les inscriptions de Délos* (= *Kernos* Suppl. 27) (Liège, 2012). An important hoard of gold, silver, and electrum jewelry formed part of the foundation deposit of the temple to Artemis at Ephesos, dated to the seventh century BCE. See B. Deppert-Lippitz, *Griechischer Goldschmuck* (Mainz am Rhein, 1985), 92–97; Marshall, *Catalogue of Jewellery*, 65–85, cat. nos. 827–1102, pls. 9–10.
- Although recent finds in Macedonia have broadened our knowledge of jewelry during these periods, their relationship to Greek types remains unclear. For the possible influence of Macedonian goldsmiths on the production of jewelry in Athens, see S. Miller-Collett, “Macedonia and Athens: A Golden Link?” in D. Williams, ed., *The Art of the Greek Goldsmith* (London, 1998), 22–29.
- 110 The Greek terms for different types of jewelry are quite varied and cannot always be identified with known examples (C. Prêtre,

- “Un collier délien,” *RÉA* 99 [1997]: 371–376). The present study follows the current scholarly convention of identifying ancient jewelry types by their modern equivalents.
- 111 Phrasikleia’s jewelry has received synthetic treatment by F. Naumann, “Das Diadem der Phrasikleia,” *Archäologie in Deutschland* (1987), 30–34. Stieber explores the “visual semiotics” of Phrasikleia’s jewelry (*The Poetics of Appearance in the Attic Korai*, 141–178). Detailed images of Phrasikleia can be found in Karakasi, *Archaic Korai*, pls. 114–115, 235 (color), 236–237 (reconstruction). Note that the sandals have been restored with gilding and gemstone decoration; they are not discussed here but in the section on footwear, pp. 160–164.
- 112 Stieber believes that Phrasikleia’s crown is intended to be understood as made of “real” flowers (*The Poetics of Appearance in the Attic Korai*, 159). Many of the Acropolis *korai* have drilled holes for the insertion of metal wreaths or crowns. The “Chiot” *kore* (Figure 4.14) wears a crown sculpted in relief and polychromed with stylized floral motifs (see Karakasi, *Archaic Korai*, pl. 267), with drilled holes in the top for insertion of metal attachments. Bronze pins remain on the so-called Peplos *kore* (Figure 4.2; clearly visible in Karakasi, *Archaic Korai*, pl. 246). Whether the so-called *meniskoi* on the Peplos *kore* should be interpreted as the remains of an elaborate headdress, perhaps identifying the figure as a goddess, remains an open question (B. S. Ridgway, “Birds, ‘Meniskoi,’ and Head Attributes in Archaic Greece, *AJA* 94.4 [1990]: 609–610). For a general discussion of “*meniskoi*” on the Acropolis *korai*, see Karakasi, *Archaic Korai*, 118–119.
- 113 A. Krug, *Binden in der griechischen Kunst* (Mainz, 1967), 133. For wreaths, see especially M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen* (Berlin, 1982). H. Ritter (“Die Bedeutung des Diadems,” *Historia* 36 [1987]: 290–301) focuses on the *diadem* of Alexander the Great, though he does discuss the use of wreaths in the cult of Dionysos (see pp. 144–145). Head-binders of cloth are discussed on pp. 158–160.
- 114 *The Poetics of Appearance in the Attic Korai*, 162–172.
- 115 As, for example, on the shoulder of Figure 4.1b. For the bridal veil-gesture, see pp. 211–212.
- 116 Unfortunately, the find-contexts of these objects are rarely known. The epigraphic evidence shows that gold wreaths were also dedicated in sanctuaries. The treasure records of the Athenian Acropolis include inscribed dedications by both individuals (some of which are specified as prize dedications) and corporate bodies (especially other cities), as well as gold wreaths worn by an image of Nike (“Victory”). See D. Harris, *The Treasures of the Parthenon and Erechtheion* (Oxford, 1995), esp. 104–105, 179–200.
- 117 See Williams and Ogden, *Greek Gold*, 234, cat. no. 168; compare cat. no. 169.
- 118 Certainly the most famous example is the golden oak wreath found in the so-called Tomb of Philip II at Vergina. For Archaic and Classical diadems and wreaths, see Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewelry*<sup>2</sup>, 123–125.
- 119 Hellenistic diadems with Herakles knots are illustrated in Williams and Ogden, *Greek Gold*, 64–65, cat. no. 18, and 196–197, cat. no. 131; Marshall, *Catalogue of Jewellery*, 170–171, cat. nos. 1607, 1609, and plate 27; Hoffmann and Davidson, *Greek Gold*, 51–59, cat. nos. 1–2, and colorplate 2.
- 120 L. M. Danforth, *The Death Rituals of Rural Greece* (Princeton, NJ, 1982), 13. Although direct continuity cannot be proven, modern Greek wedding crowns share much with their ancient predecessors in form, materials, and significance, especially in terms of fertility. See E. Antzoulidou-Retsila, *Tā stephana tou gamou ste neōtere Hellada* (Athens, 1980) (summary in English pp. 183–186).
- 121 Many of the children represented on the Attic *choes* likewise wear wreaths and crowns. See Neils and Oakley, eds., *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*, 16, 147, 263, 285–286, cat. nos. 86, 97–99.
- 122 Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen*, 181–246.
- 123 Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen*, 127–138.
- 124 Bell, “The Motya Charioteer and Pindar’s *Isthmian* 2,” 9.
- 125 Scenes of homosexual courtship (e.g., Figures 6.7 and 6.9) should probably be included in this category. The wreath depicted hanging on the wall in the depilation scene in Figure 3.14 could be intended for a *hetaira* participating in a *symposion*, or as a wedding wreath. For the difficulty in interpreting this scene, see Chapter 3, p. 79.

- 126 Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen*, 63–74; Lissarrague, *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet*, 21, Figure 9; 32–35, figs. 18–21. For the use of perfumes at the *symposion*, see Chapter 3, p. 64.
- 127 Harris, *The Treasures of the Parthenon and Erechtheion*, 104–105. The personification of ritual procession (*Pompe*) wears a wreath in Figure 7.11. For wreaths in ritual contexts, see further Chapter 7, pp. 216–217.
- 128 Fillets are discussed below, pp. 158–159.
- 129 Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins*, 91–92. To this could be added, perhaps, a Late Classical or early Hellenistic gemstone with an erotic scene in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, inv. 23.597. For Roman hairpins, see E. Swift, *Roman Dress Accessories* (Buckinghamshire, 2003), 38–40.  
For “brooches” attached to head coverings, see p. 147.
- 130 Williams and Ogden, *Greek Gold*, 254, cat. no. 197; Hoffmann and Davidson, *Greek Gold*, 266–270, cat. no. 124 and colorplate 7.
- 131 Hemelrijk, “Some Ear Ornaments in Archaic Cypriot and East Greek Art,” 31, 41, Figure 22 (= Richter, *Korai*, 54, cat. no. 81, figs. 259–262).
- 132 The left earring is clearly visible in Karakasi, *Archaic Korai*, pl. 90.
- 133 Stieber, *The Poetics of Appearance in the Attic Korai*, 158–159.
- 134 The visual evidence for Greek earrings is discussed in A. Q. Castor, “*Enotia*: The Contexts of Greek Earrings, Tenth to Third Century B.C.,” PhD thesis, Bryn Mawr, 1999, esp. 17–19.
- 135 Clearly visible in Karakasi, *Archaic Korai*, pl. 246.
- 136 Brinkmann, *Die Polychromie der archaischen und frühklassischen Skulptur*, cat. no. 96.
- 137 The females represented on the Attic *choes*, perhaps girls participating in the Anthesteria festival (see Chapter 2, p. 43), also wear earrings; see Neils, “Children and Greek Religion,” 147, cat. no. 92 and Figure 7.
- 138 For Archaic and Classical earrings, see Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewelry*<sup>2</sup>, 125–129. Examples from secure excavations are collected in Castor, “*Enotia*.”
- 139 For excellent photographs of extant earrings and their representation in sculpture and vase painting, see the catalogue of *Greek Jewellery from the Benaki Museum Collections* (Athens, 1999), 134–135, cat. no. 35, figs. 88–89; 153–154, cat. no. 44, figs. 103–104; 160–161, cat. no. 48, figs. 108–109.
- 140 See, for example, Williams and Ogden, *Greek Gold*, 88–89, cat. nos. 40–42. Castor notes the difficulty in identifying these objects as earrings (“*Enotia*,” 55). The beads contained in some examples need not preclude their use as earrings. For the audible aspect of jewelry, see p. 151.  
Similar objects made of crystal have also been interpreted as earrings (Brein, “Ear Studs for Greek Ladies”).
- 141 The “Anacreontic” vases are discussed in Chapter 7, p. 220.
- 142 Stieber, *The Poetics of Appearance in the Attic Korai*, 157–159.
- 143 The early Attic *kouros* in the Metropolitan Museum (Richter, *Kouroi*, 41–42, cat. no. 1, figs. 25–32, 60–62) wears a knotted neckband, but none of the *kouroi* appears to have worn necklaces.
- 144 This vase is not included in Jacobsthal’s list of representations of pins on vases (*Greek Pins*, 106–119).
- 145 For Greek necklaces of the Archaic and Classical periods, see Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewelry*<sup>2</sup>, 129–130.
- 146 A typology of Archaic and Classical necklace designs was established by I. Blanck, “Studien zum griechischen Halsschmuck der archaischen und klassischen Zeit,” PhD thesis, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität zu Mainz, 1974.
- 147 Aristophanes mentions women wearing acorn necklaces: *Lysistrata*, 1.407.
- 148 For perfumes, see Chapter 3, pp. 62–65.
- 149 Lee, “Acheloös Peplophoros,” 320. See, for example, *LIMC s.v.* Acheloos, cat. no. 90. For apotropaic amulets, see pp. 152–154.
- 150 Hence, they are not included in Stieber’s analysis.
- 151 Karakasi, *Archaic Korai*, 119–120.
- 152 A youthful male figure wears a single bracelet in the symposium scene in Figure 5.19.
- 153 For the *Euandria*, see Chapter 7, p. 224.
- 154 For images, see Neils and Oakley, eds., *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*, 16, 147, 285–286, cat. nos. 97–99. A few bracelets recovered archaeologically have been interpreted as having belonged to children because of their small size: see Neils and Oakley, eds., *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*, 177, 304, cat. nos. 120–121.

For the Anthesteria, see [Chapter 2](#), p. 38 and [Chapter 7](#), p. 199.

- 155 See especially B. Deppert-Lippitz, “Greek Bracelets of the Classical Period,” in D. Williams, ed., *The Art of the Greek Goldsmith* (London, 1998), 91–94. Also Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewelry*<sup>2</sup>, 130–131.
- 156 Deppert-Lippitz notes that a large number of snake bracelets was dedicated at Olympia in the sanctuary to Artemis, “who as a helping and healing deity was represented by a snake, and the use of snake bracelets” (“Greek Bracelets of the Classical Period,” 91).
- 157 E. Kelperi, *Der Schmuck der nackten und halb nackten Aphrodite der Spätclassik und der hellenistischen Zeit* (Frankfurt, 1997). Kelperi believes that Praxiteles adopted the armband from images of naked female divinities in the Ancient Near East, and that Greek women emulated the fashion of the Knidian Aphrodite. Some copies of the “Crouching Aphrodite” show a snake bracelet on the upper arm; see Kelperi, pls. 14–15.
- 158 For amulets and amulet bands or amulet strings, see pp. 152–154.
- 159 Rings are generally absent from the known corpus of *korai* (Richter, *Korai*, 11–12).
- 160 The most recent synthetic study is J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings: Early Bronze Age to Late Classical*, rev. ed. (New York, 2001), esp. 139–302 for the Archaic and Classical periods. The first edition of Boardman’s work appeared at around the same time as G. M. A. Richter, *The Engraved Gems of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans*, vol. 1: *Engraved Gems of the Greeks and the Etruscans: A History of Greek Art in Miniature* (New York, 1968), which covers much of the same material. See also Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewelry*<sup>2</sup>, 131–132.
- Plain bands also survive in great numbers but have not been analyzed outside of individual excavation reports.
- 161 Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, 235–238, and notes 446–448; Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Greeks and the Etruscans*, 1–3.
- 162 Although actual examples of rings used in this way are rare, ring impressions are preserved on terra cotta loom-weights from several sites (Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, 234, and notes 424; Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Greeks and the Etruscans*, 2–3).

- 163 For specific references, see Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, 447; Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Greeks and the Etruscans*, 1–2.
- 164 Deianeira includes a token bearing an impression from her seal ring together with the deadly *peplos* she sends to Herakles via Lichas (Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 615). Given the ambiguity surrounding Deianeira, it is unclear whether this passage should be taken as a reflection the use of seals by women, or an example of her many transgressions in the tragic narrative.
- 165 Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, 236.
- 166 And, indeed, Boardman admits the possibility that seals might have been used by “womenfolk on their larders” (*Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, 235). The many rings decorated with images of Penelope (Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, 236) may reflect this function.
- 167 Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, 236; Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Greeks and the Etruscans*, 76. These so-called women’s pots are discussed by Lewis, *The Athenian Woman*, 130–170.
- 168 Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, 195–196, 287–288, pl. 467; Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Greeks and the Etruscans*, 88–89, cat. no. 277.
- 169 Richter notes that the inscription of the owner and that of the artist appear in retrograde in the impression, which suggests that the names were intended to be viewed primarily as decoration on the gemstone rather than as a sealing (*Engraved Gems of the Greeks and the Etruscans*, 89).
- 170 I know of no evidence for the use of wedding rings in the modern sense, which is usually traced to Roman practice (L. La Follette, “The Costume of the Roman Bride,” in J. L. Sebesta and L. Bonfante, eds., *The World of Roman Costume* [Madison, 2001], 61 and n. 56).
- 171 The common inscriptions *chaire* (“greeting”) or *doron* (“a gift”) are generally thought to address the recipient of the object that had been sealed with the gemstone (Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Greeks and the Etruscans*, 76). It is possible, however, that such messages were intended for the recipients of the gemstones themselves.



- 172 Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, 237. On the other hand, rings found in funerary contexts are generally worn on the fingers.
- 173 The definitive study of amulets remains C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets, Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1950). A good introduction is R. Kotansky, “Incantations and Prayers for Salvation in Inscribed Greek Amulets,” in C. A. Faraone and D. Obbink, eds., *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (Oxford, 1991), 107–137, esp. 107–110.
- 174 Kotansky, “Incantations and Prayers for Salvation in Inscribed Greek Amulets,” esp. 112–122.
- 175 Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Greeks and the Etruscans*, 3.
- 176 The Greek words for amulets (*peripta*, *periammata*) mean literally “things tied around the body” and likely refer to the use of knotted cords or strings as amulets (P. Wolters, “Faden und Knoten als Amulett,” *ArchRW* 8 [1905]: 1–22; also discussed by Nicgorski, “The Iconography of the Herakles Knot and the Herakles-Knot Hairstyle of Apollo and Aphrodite”). Such amulet cords are visible in [Figures 3.13](#) and [3.14](#).
- On the famous *psykter* by Euphronios in the Hermitage Museum (inv. no. 644) depicting an all-female *symposion*, the women wear amulets on the thigh, wrist, and upper arm, and as the pendant of a necklace.
- 177 For discussion, see Kilmer, *Greek Erotica*, 159–160. The appearance of amulets on some of the female bathers discussed in [Chapter 3](#) (pp. 61–62) has contributed to the debate over their identification as *hetairai* or proper women.
- 178 References in Oakley, *The Phiale Painter*, 38, n. 260. Amulets worn around the calf: J.-C. Poursat, “Les représentations de danse armée dans la céramique attique,” *BCH* 92 (1968): 596, cat. no. 46, Figure 50.
- 179 See especially J.-J. Aubert, “Threatened Wombs: Aspects of Ancient Uterine Magic,” *GRBS* 30 (1989): 412–449; D. Gourevitch, “Grossesse et accouchement dans l’iconographie antique,” *DossPar123* (1988): 42–48; A. E. Hanson, “A Long-Lived ‘Quick-Birther’ (*okytokion*),” in V. Dasen, ed., *Naissance et petite enfance dans l’Antiquité* (Göttingen, 2004), 265–280.
- 180 According to Hamilton, naked babies wear amulets on 98 percent of all *choes* (*Choes and Anthesteria*, 105).
- 181 Beaumont, *Childhood in Ancient Athens*, 62–63; V. Dasen, “Les amulettes d’enfants dans le monde gréco-romain,” *Latomus* 62 (2003): 275–289; Neils, “Children and Greek Religion,” 143–144, cat. nos. 75, 96. The use of blue glass beads to protect against the evil eye survives in Greece to this day.
- A. Castor identifies amulets in Attic imagery as specifically tied to the autochthonous myth of Erechthonios (“Protecting Athena’s Children: Amulets in Classical Athens,” in C. C. Mattusch, et al., eds., *Common Ground: Archaeology, Art, Science, and Humanities* [Proceedings of the 26th International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Boston, August 23–26, 2003] [Oxford, 2006], 625–627).
- 182 The shapes of amulets are more easily discernible in large-scale stone sculpture. Though rare in Greece, a large series of naked “temple boys,” many wearing amulets, has been recovered from Cyprus, suggesting that the practice was widespread. See C. Beer, “Comparative Votive Religion: The Evidence of Children in Cyprus, Greece and Etruria,” in T. Linders and G. Nordquist, eds., *Gifts to the Gods: Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985* [= *Boreas* 15] (Stockholm, 1987), 21–29.
- For leaf amulets employed by adults to cure headache and other ailments, see C. Faraone, “A Socratic Leaf Charm for Headache (*Charmides* 155B–157C), Orphic Gold Leaves, and the Ancient Greek Tradition of Leaf Amulets,” in J. Dijkstra, et al., eds., *Myths, Martyrs, and Modernity: Studies in the History of Religions in Honor of Jan N. Bremmer* (Leiden, 2010), 145–166.
- 183 Dasen, “Les amulettes d’enfants dans le monde gréco-romain,” 280, and Figure 4.
- 184 Dasen, “Les amulettes d’enfants dans le monde gréco-romain,” 280. The “sickle” identified by Scanlon (*Eros and Greek Athletics*, 130, [Figure 5.1](#)) on the Laconian bronze in the Metropolitan Museum of Art depicting a naked girl is certainly a lunate amulet.
- 185 Dasen, “Les amulettes d’enfants dans le monde gréco-romain,” 279; Wolters, “Faden und Knoten als Amulett,” 1–22. The significance of knots is discussed throughout Nicgorski’s thesis: “The Iconography of

- the Herakles Knot and the Herakles-Knot Hairstyle of Apollo and Aphrodite.”
- 186 W.W. Fortenbaugh, et al., eds., trans. *Theophrastus of Eresus: Sources for His life, Writings, Thought, and Influence* (Leiden, 1992), 291.
- 187 Even if men also practiced magical arts; see K. B. Stratton, *Naming the Witch: Magic, Ideology, and Stereotype in the Ancient World* (New York, 2007), esp. 24–25.
- 188 It is interesting to note that barbarian women do not generally wear jewelry but are similarly (and permanently) marked by means of tattooing. Conversely, barbarian men do wear jewelry, marking them as effeminate.
- 189 Stieber suggests that adornment of the head had a ritual function (Stieber, *The Poetics of Appearance in the Attic Korai*, 157).
- 190 Wobst, “Stylistic Behavior and Information Exchange,” 332–333.
- 191 Levine, “The Gendered Grammar of Ancient Mediterranean Hair.”
- 192 The now standard study of veiling in ancient Greece is Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite’s Tortoise*, which borrows heavily from recent scholarship on Muslim veiling practices.
- 193 Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite’s Tortoise*, 2–14. An early exception to the scholarly silence on veiling is C. Galt, “Veiled Ladies,” *AJA* 35 (1931): 373–393.
- 194 Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite’s Tortoise*, 28.
- 195 An exception, perhaps, is the *tegidion*, which came into fashion at the end of the fourth century BCE (Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite’s Tortoise*, 34–35).
- 196 Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite’s Tortoise*, 45–46.
- 197 Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite’s Tortoise*, 49–56. For the different types of mantles, see Chapter 4, pp. 113–116, 119–120.
- The notion that the mantle might be employed as a veil can be implied visually by bunched folds of fabric at the nape of the neck (Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite’s Tortoise*, 91–93).
- 198 Llewellyn-Jones wrongly identifies this type as the “*kolpos* veil” (*Aphrodite’s Tortoise*, 59–60). For the *peplos*, see Chapter 4, pp. 100–106.
- 199 Face-veils such as the *tegidion* (above, n. 195) are quite rare and appear on monuments only in the third century BCE and later.
- 200 For transparency in dress, see Chapter 6, pp. 195–197.
- 201 For the function of veils in the bridal ritual known as the *anakalypteria*, see Chapter 7, pp. 211–212.
- 202 For walking sticks and money bags, see pp. 169–171.
- 203 This vase was the inspiration for the article by Galt (1931).  
Representations of the mantle dance become much more frequent in Hellenistic art, the most celebrated example being the Baker Dancer in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. See Friesländer, “The Mantle Dancer in the Hellenistic Period”; Kleine, *Bilder tanzender Frauen in frühgriechischer und klassischer Zeit*, 87–169; Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite’s Tortoise*, 293–298.
- 204 D. L. Cairns, “The Meaning of the Veil in Ancient Greek Culture,” in L. Llewellyn-Jones, ed., *Women’s Dress in the Ancient Greek World* (London, 2002), 73–93; *idem*, “Veiling, *Aidos*, and a Red-Figure Amphora by Phintias,” *JHS* 116 (1996): 152–158; Ferrari, “Figures of Speech”; *eadem*, *Figures of Speech*, 54–56; Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite’s Tortoise*, 155–173.
- 205 Llewellyn-Jones likens the veil to the shell of a tortoise: a veiled woman retains the privacy of her *oikos* (household) while in the public sphere (*Aphrodite’s Tortoise*, 189–214). Keuls notes, “Women were expected to be muffled into shapeless forms under all but the most intimate circumstances” (*The Reign of the Phallus*, 87).
- 206 Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite’s Tortoise*, 259–281.
- 207 Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite’s Tortoise*, 283–298.
- 208 This scene is the “reverse” of Figure 4.10, in which a woman wearing a *peplos* performs the so-called veiling gesture. Taken together, both images reinforce the ideology of veiling.
- 209 Ferrari, “Figures of Speech,” 190.
- 210 D. L. Cairns, “Weeping and Veiling: Grief, Display and Concealment in Ancient Greek Culture,” in T. Fögen, ed., *Tears in the Graeco-Roman World* (Berlin, 2009), 37–57; *idem*, “Anger and the Veil in Ancient Greek Culture,” *GaR* 48 (2001): 18–32; Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite’s Tortoise*, 298–305.
- 211 Cairns, “Anger and the Veil in Ancient Greek Culture,” 24.
- 212 For the significance of binding and covering the head and hair, see Levine, “The Gendered Grammar of Ancient Mediterranean Hair,” and Chapter 3, pp. 69–73.

- 213 Dillon notes that fillets are also used to adorn sacrificial animals (*Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*, 63 and Figure 2.14), as well as grave monuments (283–284 and Figure 9.6).
- 214 For discussion, see [Chapter 3](#), p. 72.
- 215 Sabetai, “Aspects of Nuptial and Genre Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens,” 328–329. Fillets also decorate the *loutrophoros* containing the water for the bridal bath, as seen in the center of the roll-out drawing in [Figure 7.7b](#).
- 216 Blundell, “Clutching at Clothes,” 161.
- 217 See [Chapter 7](#), p. 224.
- The hairbands worn by some of the early *kouroi* may identify them as victorious athletes. In general, hairbands disappear together with longer hairstyles in the middle of the sixth century BCE. Athletic victory monuments of the Classical period sometimes display fillets, for example, the Delphi charioteer; the Diadoumenos of Polykleitos, known only from Roman copies, shows the victor in the process of tying the band around his head.
- 218 As argued by H. Brandenburg, *Studien zur Mitra* (Münster 1966). Others identify the *mitra* as a simple band that could be worn in various ways on different parts of the body: N. P. Bezantakos, *I archaia elleniki mitra: Ermineia ton sketikon xeimenon apo ton Omero os ton Nonno* (Athens, 1987); R. Tölle-Kastenbein, “Zur Mitra in klassischer Zeit,” *RA* 1 (1977): 23–36. Margarete Bieber understood the *mitra* as a broad band, distinguished from a narrow *taenia* (*Griechische Kleidung*, 25). Elfriede R. Knauer uses *mitra* to describe an Eastern flapped cap worn together with the Corinthian helmet in mythological imagery following the Persian Wars (“Mitra and Kerykeion: Some Reflections on Symbolic Attributes in the Art of the Classical Period,” *AA* 107 [1992]: 373–399).
- 219 As demonstrated by Jenkins and Williams (“Sprang Hair Nets”), *sakkoi* were likely made on small hand frames using the sprang technique (see [Chapter 4](#), pp. 92–93). Surviving Coptic sprang hairnets are comparable to those depicted in Greek art.
- Sakos* is also used as a synonym for hair (e.g., Aristophanes, *Assemblywomen*, 502). M. Golden, “A Double Pun in Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 1001,” *CQ* 32 (1982): 467–468.
- 220 Two plastic-head *oinochoai* by Charinos (ca. 500–490 BCE) interpreted as *hetairai* wear elaborate head coverings with two round bosses, perhaps replicating metal brooches, affixed to patterned bands and connected by chains. See Reeder, *Pandora*, cat. no. 48, Figure 48.
- 221 Jenkins and Williams, “Sprang Hair Nets,” 416.
- 222 F. Frontisi-Ducroux and F. Lissarrague, “From Ambiguity to Ambivalence: A Dionysiac Excursion through the ‘Anakreontic’ Vases,” in Halperin, et al., eds., *Before Sexuality*, 211–256. Alternatively, they may be cross-dressing in the ritual context of the *symposion*: see [Chapter 7](#), pp. 220–221. Dionysos is often represented wearing the *mitra* (Brandenburg, *Studien zur Mitra*, 83).
- 223 The conical sunhat called the *tholia* worn by some of the female Tanagra figurines appears only in the Hellenistic period (Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines*, 120–122).
- 224 Pipili, “Wearing an Other Hat.”
- 225 The *petasos* is an attribute of Hermes, the travel god. The *petasos* is also worn by young cavalrymen, as on the Parthenon frieze (Stevenson, “Cavalry Uniforms on the Parthenon Frieze?”). For the social category *ephēboi*, see [Chapter 2](#), p. 40.
- 226 Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, “Aspects of Ancient Macedonian Costume,” 128–131.
- 227 For an overview, see Sparkes, “Some Greek Images of Others.”
- 228 Vos, *Scythian Archers in Archaic Attic Vase-Painting*, 41–43. The visual representations match the description of Herodotus (7.64).
- 229 Tsiafakis, “The Allure and Repulsion of Thracians in the Art of Classical Athens,” figs. 14.1, 14.6.
- 230 As described by Herodotus (7.61) and others. See, for example, the defeated Persian on the so-called Eurymedon vase (Sparkes, “Some Greek Images of Others,” 145, [Figure 7.7](#)).
- 231 Lissarrague, *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet*, 11–13. Margaret Miller suggests that elite men adopted Oriental headgear primarily as articles of prestige (“Foreigners at the Greek Symposium?” in W. J. Slater, ed., *Dining in a Classical Context* [Ann Arbor, MI, 1991], 71).
- 232 Though perhaps the same could be said for footwear of other cultures and periods. For recent studies of footwear, informed by dress theory, see E. Nahshon, *Jews and Shoes* (Oxford, 2008); and G. Riello and P. McNeil,

- eds., *Shoes: A History from Sandals to Sneakers* (Oxford, 2006), in which appears the only synthetic study of ancient Greek footwear to date: S. Blundell, “Beneath their Shining Feet: Shoes and Sandals in Classical Greece,” 30–49. See also Blundell, “Clutching at Clothes,” 146–152.
- 233 See especially C. van Driel-Murray, “Vindolanda and the Dating of Roman Footwear,” *Britannia* 32 (2001): 185–197, with earlier bibliography; N. Goldman, “Roman Footwear,” in Sebesta and Bonfante, eds., *The World of Roman Costume*, 101–129.
- 234 For depictions of footwear in Greek sculpture, see K. D. Morrow, *Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture* (Madison, 1985). For shoes and boots rendered in paint, see Brinkmann, *Die Polychromie der archaischen und frühklassischen Skulptur*, cat. nos. 56, 61, 117, 121, 128, 174, 180, 195.
- 235 A. A. Bryant’s “Greek Shoes in the Classical Period,” *HSCP* 10 (1899): 57–102 remains the most comprehensive treatment of the literary sources. Pritchett collects important epigraphic evidence for types of shoes and their monetary value (“The Attic Stelai,” 203–205, 208–210). A useful appendix of terms for Classical Greek footwear, with references to the ancient sources, is found in Morrow, *Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture*, 175–184.
- 236 For ancient methods of leather tanning, and a short overview of footwear, see R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 5 (Leiden, 1966), 1–79.
- 237 See, most recently, J. Camp, “Athenian Cobblers and Heroes,” in S. Keay and S. Moser, eds., *Greek Art in View: Essays in Honor of Brian Sparkes* (Oxford, 2004), 134, with earlier bibliography.
- The high quality of the grave relief of Xanthippos (Figure 3.15) would suggest that if he was in fact a cobbler (as is traditionally assumed), his business was quite profitable.
- 238 Lewis, “Barbers’ Shops and Perfume Shops,” 435.
- 239 The importance of well-fitting footwear is suggested by Theophrastus’ *Characters*, in which Boorishness (#4) is identified by “sandals that are too big for his feet.”
- 240 Morrow, *Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture*, 23–37, 44–46, 55–62. Morrow notes that on the Parthenon frieze, women generally wear thick-soled sandals, while men’s sandals are generally thinner (55–56).
- 241 Morrow, *Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture*, 46–48; Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, “Aspects of Ancient Macedonian Costume,” 143–145.
- 242 E. Touloupa, “Kattymata Tyrrhenika – Krepides Attikai,” *ArchDelt* 28 (1973): 116–137.
- 243 Morrow, *Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture*, 63–64.
- 244 Morrow, *Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture*, 84–85 and figs. 60a–c; Waywell, *The Free-Standing Sculptures of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus in the British Museum*, pl. 15, Figure 26. Socks or stockings are also worn by rustics (Pipili, “Wearing an Other hat,” 169–170, 173, and Figure 6.7).
- 245 Morrow, *Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture*, 37–39 and n. 31.
- 246 Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC*, 154.
- 247 Mirrors are discussed on pp. 165–167.
- 248 Kingsley, “The Stele of Myttion,” 7.
- 249 For sleeved garments as indicators of foreigners, see Chapter 4, pp. 120–124.
- 250 Several scholars have identified this figure as a dwarf; see Stieber, *The Poetics of Appearance in the Attic Korai*, 80–81.
- 251 Compare the use of perfumes by men in the symposium (Chapter 3, p. 64). For boots worn by “Anacreontic” *komasts*, see below, p. 163.
- 252 David, “Dress in Spartan Society,” 11; Stone, *Costume in Aristophanic Poetry*, 225–227. For the concurrent adoption of Spartan hairstyles, see Chapter 3, pp. 74–75.
- 253 Morrow, *Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture*, 39–42; Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress*<sup>2</sup>, 60–63.
- 254 Morrow, *Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture*, 64–68. Note that the boots worn by the prospective groom in Figure 7.8 lack such flaps.
- 255 *Embades* may have been made from fawn skin (Tsiafakis, “The Allure and Repulsion of Thracians in the Art of Classical Athens,” 367). For the *zeira*, see Chapter 4, pp. 124–125; for the *alopekis*, see this chapter, p. 160.
- 256 Xenophon, *On the Art of Horsemanship* 12.10; Stevenson, “Cavalry Uniforms on the Parthenon Frieze?” 637–653.
- 257 The feminine connotations of these boots is clear from a red-figure *pelike* by the Phiale Painter in the Museum of Fine Arts,

- Boston (inv. 98.883) depicting two male actors dressing in female costume, including boots. See Boardman and La Rocca, *Eros in Greece*, 65.
- 258 Such boots are the distinguishing characteristic of the Boot Painter, as identified by Beazley.
- 259 See Chapter 3, pp. 61–62.
- 260 See this chapter p. 168 and Chapter 7, p. 220.
- 261 Bryant suggests that *kothoroi* were in fact identical with *persikai* (“Greek Shoes in the Classical Period,” 88).
- 262 For regulations of dress in ritual contexts, see Chapter 7, pp. 215–216.
- 263 A. Haentjens, “Ritual Shoes in Early Greek Female Graves,” *AntCl* 71 (2002): 171–184. The foot and leg vases are generally quite detailed, and provide important evidence for the form and decoration of Archaic footwear (Morrow, *Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture*, 3–22). Such vases likely held perfumed unguents, perhaps specifically for the feet.
- 264 Haentjens, “Ritual Shoes in Early Greek Female Graves,” 182–183.
- 265 Oakley and Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens*, 18. For the apparent practice of throwing shoes at the bride and groom, see Oakley and Sinos, p. 33.
- 266 *Hetairai*: red-figure Nikosthenic *amphora* by Oltos, ca. 510 BCE Louvre no. G2, Pairs; youth: red-figure *kylix* by Nikosthenes Painter, ca. 510–500 BCE, Getty no. 96. AE.97, Malibu.
- 267 The erotic connotations of footwear are well attested in the modern world. See in particular V. Steele, “Shoes and the Erotic Imagination,” in G. Riello and P. McNeil, eds., *Shoes: A History from Sandals to Sneakers* (Oxford, 2006), 250–270.
- 268 For see-through garments, see Chapter 6, pp. 195–197. For perfumes and cosmetics, see Chapter 3, pp. 62–65 and 66–69.
- 269 D. B. Levine, “EPATON BAMA (‘Her Lovely Footstep’): The Erotics of Feet in Ancient Greece,” in D. Cairns, ed., *Body Language in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Swansea, 2005), 55–72.
- 270 Stieber, *The Poetics of Appearance in the Attic Korai*, 119.
- 271 “Beneath Their Shining Feet,” 46.
- 272 Blundell, “Beneath Their Shining Feet,” 46; see also the comments of Lewis, *The Athenian Woman*, 126, Figure 3.26. A more playful use of the sandal as sex toy is illustrated by the famous Hellenistic “Slipper-slapper” sculpture of Aphrodite, accompanied by Eros, fending off the sexual overtures of Pan (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 3335; Blundell, “Beneath Their Shining Feet,” 47, Figure 1.11).
- 273 Other items that might be considered “accessories” include tools, musical instruments, ritual objects, and love gifts of various types.
- 274 Frontisi-Ducroux, “L’oeil et le miroir,” 55. For a satirical image of a satyr holding a mirror to mimic a woman, see Mitchell, *Greek Vase-Painting and the Origins of Visual Humour*, 201, Figure 105.
- It is interesting to note that, although men wear feminine articles of dress, (e.g., *mitra*, earrings, boots, and parasols) in the so-called Anacreontic vases (see Chapter 7, p. 220 and Fig 7.13), none use mirrors, suggesting that the feminine connotations of these objects overrode the Eastern associations.
- 275 The most thorough treatment of the ideological association between women and mirrors in the Greek world is F. Frontisi-Ducroux, “L’oeil et le miroir,” in F. Frontisi-Ducroux and J.-P. Vernant, *Dans l’oeil du miroir* (Paris, 1997), 53–250. Greek practices heavily influenced the Romans, on which see in particular M. Wyke, “Woman in the Mirror: The Rhetoric of Adornment in the Roman World,” in L. J. Archer, et al., eds., *Women in Ancient Societies: An Illusion of the Night* (New York, 1994), 134–151; and more generally R. Taylor, *The Moral Mirror of Roman Art* (Cambridge, 2008).
- 276 Whereas women employ mirrors specifically for the benefit of men (Frontisi-Ducroux, “L’oeil et le miroir,” 59), Pandora’s beauty caused the downfall of men.
- The absence of mirrors in Hesiod might also be a problem of simple chronology: Greek mirrors do not appear in the archaeological or visual record until the sixth century BCE.
- 277 W. McCarty, “The Shape of the Mirror: Metaphorical Catoptrics in Classical Literature,” *Arethusa* 22 (1989): 176–182.
- 278 McCarty, “The Shape of the Mirror,” 176.



- 279 For a brief overview of types, see L. O. K. Congdon, *Caryatid Mirrors of Ancient Greece: Technical, Stylistic and Historical Considerations of an Archaic and Early Classical Bronze Series* (Mainz, 1981), 5–7; Frontisi-Ducroux, “L’oeil et le miroir,” 75–79. Mirrors were especially popular among the Etruscans and Romans. For a useful overview of Greek mirrors and their influence on Etruscan examples, see N. T. de Grummond, ed., *A Guide to Etruscan Mirrors* (Tallahassee, FL, 1982), 32–38.
- 280 Congdon, *Caryatid Mirrors of Ancient Greece*, with earlier bibliography.
- 281 See [Chapter 3](#), p. 59 and [Chapter 4](#), p. 98.
- 282 For the *peplos*, see [Chapter 4](#), pp. 100–106.
- 283 A. Schwarzmaier, *Griechische Klappspiegel: Untersuchungen zu Typologie und Stil* (= *AM-BH* 18) (Berlin, 1997). The case-mirror remained popular throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods.
- 284 Richter, “An Archaic Greek Mirror,” 341. In the absence of full-length mirrors, this feature would have been especially important.
- 285 Frontisi-Ducroux, “L’oeil et le miroir,” 79–87; L. Balensiefen, *Die Bedeutung des Spiegelbildes als ikonographisches Motiv in der antiken Kunst* (Tübingen, 1990), esp. 19–25.
- 286 Frontisi-Ducroux, “L’oeil et le miroir,” 92–111.
- 287 On the erotics of weaving, see especially Scheid and Svenbro, *The Craft of Zeus: Myths of Weaving and Fabric*, 158–163; Papadopoulou-Belmehdi, “Greek Weaving or the Feminine in Antithesis.”
- 288 A. Stewart, “Reflections,” in Kampen, ed., *Sexuality in Ancient Art*, 136–154. Frontisi-Ducroux (“L’oeil et le miroir,” 77) suggests that such case-mirrors would have carried notions of feminine “containment,” as described by Lissarrague in “Women, Boxes, Containers.”
- 289 For the self-referential experience of young women using mirrors, see Pomeroy, *Spartan Women*, 165; Stewart, *Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece*, 116; also [Chapter 3](#), p. 59.
- 290 Compare the French writer Colette’s literary treatment of the early twentieth-century showgirl, for whom the mirror is “a tool of self-realization, a space where a woman becomes spectacle to herself, where she discovers and reinvents herself, where she quite literally makes herself up” (A. Stuart, *Showgirls* [London, 1996], 71–72). As noted in [Chapter 3](#) (p. 67 and p. 70), ancient Greek women are never represented applying cosmetics; but they do arrange their hair while looking into mirrors.
- 291 The most extensive discussion is Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC*, 198–206.
- 292 Miller identifies this arrangement as *allophorism* (“borne by another”), in contrast to *autophoretism* (“borne by oneself”) (*Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC*, 193). The use of an attendant to serve as fan bearer is itself a statement of “conspicuous consumption of slave labor” (*Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC*, 192).
- A fan is also carried by an attendant in the wedding procession depicted in [Figure 7.8](#).
- 293 Compare the global trade in exotic feathers employed in nineteenth-century millinery: R. W. Doughty, *Feather Fashions and Bird Preservation: A Study in Nature Protection* (Berkeley, CA, 1975).
- 294 M. Miller, “The Parasol: An Oriental Status-Symbol in Late Archaic and Classical Athens,” *JHS* 112 (1992): 91–105; and *eadem*, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC*, 193–198.
- 295 Miller, “The Parasol,” 95–96; *eadem*, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC*, 193–194.
- 296 Miller, “The Parasol,” 102–104; *eadem*, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC*, 195–196. This practice may be alluded to in the Parthenon east frieze, where Eros holds a parasol for Aphrodite (E41–42).
- 297 M.-H. Delavaud-Roux, “L’énigme des danseurs barbus au parasol et les vases des ‘Lénéennes,’” *RA* fasc. 2 (1995), 227–263; Miller, “The Parasol,” 96–100.
- 298 “L’énigme des danseurs barbus au parasol et les vases des ‘Lénéennes,’”
- 299 See also van Wees, “Greeks Bearing Arms,” 360–362.
- 300 Kilmer, *Greek Erotica*, 94, and 165, n. 98; Scanlon, *Eros and Greek Athletics*, 236–237. A. Lear seems to accept the *aryballos* alone as indicative of the *gymnasium* (A. Lear and E. Cantarella, *Images of Ancient Greek Pederasty: Boys Were Their Gods* [London, 2008], 129, 177, 178).
- 301 M. Fischer, “Sport Objects and Homosexuality in Ancient Greek



Vase-Painting: The New Reading of Tampa Museum Vase 86.70,” *Nikephoros* 20 (2007): 153–175. Fisher, following Kilmer (*Greek Erotica*, 94), suggests that the oil was employed as a lubricant in anal intercourse, though she notes in a footnote (n. 90) that anal penetration was prohibited.

302 For the draped *himation*, see Chapter 4, pp. 113–116. For beards, see Chapter 3, p. 76. Walking sticks are discussed this chapter, pp. 170–171.

303 For footwear, see pp. 160–164.

304 See especially Lewis, *The Athenian Woman*, 194–199; Ferrari, *Figures of Speech*, 12–17; Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus*, 260–266; M. Meyer, “Männer mit Geld: Zu einer rotfigurigen Vase mit ‘Alltagsszene,’” *JdI* 103 (1988): 87–125.

305 For walking sticks, see pp. 170–171.

306 Ferrari, *Figures of Speech*, 12–17; and 251, n. 21 for earlier references.

307 Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus*, 262–264.

308 Lewis, *The Athenian Woman*, 196–197.

309 For deliberate bodily display, see Chapter 6, pp. 192–195.

310 Birchler Emery, “Old-Age Iconography in Archaic Greek Art,” 22.

311 Van Wees, “Greeks Bearing Arms,” 359–360. Weapons are discussed together with special-purpose military dress in Chapter 7, pp. 205–206.

## CHAPTER 6: THE BODY AS DRESS

1 As discussed in Chapter 1 (p. 21), the term *costume* is generally not employed in the field of dress studies because of its strong associations with dramatic stage costume.

2 This is not true in every language, for example, German, which has only the word *nackt* to describe an undressed body (Stewart, *Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece*, 25).

3 K. Clark, *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form* (Princeton, NJ, 1956), 3.

4 L. Bonfante, “Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art,” *AJA* 93 (1989): 543–570. For earlier scholarship on nudity in ancient Greece, see Bonfante, “Nudity as a Costume,” 543, n. 1. The fundamental ideas set out in this article are reiterated in her subsequent work on the topic, especially “The Naked Greek: How Ancient Art and Literature Reflect the

Custom of Civic Nudity,” *Archaeology* 43.5 (1990): 28–35; “Essays on Nudity in Antiquity: Introduction,” *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 12.2 (1993): 7–11; “Classical Nudity in Italy and Greece,” in D. Ridgway, et al., eds., *Ancient Italy in Its Mediterranean Setting: Studies in Honor of Ellen Macnamara* (London, 2000), 271–293.

5 For nudity in other cultures of the ancient Mediterranean, see most conveniently the special volume edited by L. Bonfante, *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 12.2 (1993); also various articles in Koloski-Ostrow and Lyons, eds., *Naked Truths* and Kampen, ed., *Sexuality in Ancient Art*; also Z. Bahrani, “The Hellenization of Ishtar: Nudity, Fetishism, and the Production of Cultural Differentiation in Ancient Art,” *Oxford Art Journal* 19.2 (1996): 3–16.

6 In the same vein, Herodotus (1.10.3) comments that “among the Lydians and most of the foreign peoples it is held great shame that even a man should be seen naked.”

For further discussion of the literary sources, see this chapter, pp. 177–178.

7 Bonfante, “Nudity as a Costume,” 544.

8 Stewart, *Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece*, 124–142.

Stewart employs the term *naked* rather than *nude*, which he judges to be too “charged” (25). Why *naked* is not equally charged is not explained.

9 Stewart, *Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece*, 40–42.

10 “Men without Clothes: Heroic Nakedness and Greek Art,” *Gender and History* 9.3 (1997): 504–528. Despite the title, Osborne generally rejects the notion of “heroic” nudity, discussed later. Stewart has also emphasized the homoerotic appeal of the male nude, especially the *kouros* (*Greek Sculpture*, 110). Osborne addresses issues surrounding female nudity elsewhere (see p. 305, n. 112).

11 Ferrari, *Figures of Speech*, 112–126. Ferrari notes that “the fact that in the Greek world nudity is a prerogative of men suggests that it may have been understood as a manly feature, therefore equivalent to other specifically masculine properties, such as beards and male genitals” (111).

12 Himmelmann’s ideas are presented primarily in two monographs, *Ideale Nacktheit* (= *AbhRheinWestfAkadWiss* 73) (Opladen,

- 1985) and especially *Ideale Nacktheit in der griechischen Kunst* (= *JdI-EH* 26) (Berlin, 1990). K. Herzog, *Die Gestalt des Menschen in der Kunst und im Spiegel der Wissenschaft* (Darmstadt 1990) likewise supports the notion of “ideal” or “heroic” nudity. Such a reading has been rejected by T. Hölscher in his review of Himmelmann (1990); see also L. Thommen, “Nacktheit und Zivilisationsprozeß in Griechenland,” in *Historische Anthropologie* 4 (1996): 438–450, and the very general *Antike Körpergeschichte* (Zürich, 2007), 59; C. W. Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones*, introductory volume (Bonn, 1993), 137–159, esp. 137. For an overview of the arguments on both sides, see C. H. Hallett, *The Roman Nude: Heroic Portrait Statuary 200 BC–AD 300* (Oxford, 2005), 9–14.
- 13 Hallett, *The Roman Nude*, 14–19. Hallett employs the terms *naked* and *nude* interchangeably.
- 14 J. Hurwit, “The Problem with Dexileos: Heroic and Other Nudities in Greek Art,” *AJA* 111 (2007): 35–60.
- 15 Hurwit, “The Problem with Dexileos,” 45.
- 16 Likewise, in her short treatment of heroic nudity in Athenian art, Beth Cohen suggests that the representation of nude heroes in Athenian art provided a model for the democratic citizenry (“Ethnic Identity in Democratic Athens and the Visual Vocabulary of Male Costume,” 251–258, 261).
- 17 Thommen, “Nacktheit und Zivilisationsprozeß in Griechenland,” 448–449.
- 18 J. Daehner, “Grenzen der Nacktheit: Studien zum Nackten Mänlichen Körper in der Griechischen Plastik des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.,” *JdI* 120 (2005): 155–300.
- 19 A. Stähli, “Nacktheit und Körperinszenierung in Bildern der griechischen Antike,” in Schroer, ed., *Images and Gender*, 209–227.
- 20 For an excellent overview of the historiography of the nude in art historical scholarship and its influence on the reading of ancient art, see J. Assante, “Undressing the Nude: Problems in Analyzing Nudity in Ancient Art, with an Old Babylonian Case Study,” in Schroer, ed., *Images and Gender*, 177–207, esp. 178–182.
- 21 J. Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London, 1972), 45–64.
- 22 Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, 54.
- 23 Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, 47; L. Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” in *Visual and Other Pleasures* (Indianapolis, 1989), 19.
- 24 Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, 64.
- 25 For example, Stewart, *Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece*, 25, 82, 181.
- 26 L. Nead, *The Female Nude: Art, Obscenity and Sexuality* (London, 1992). See also G. Pollock, “Nude Bodies: Displacing the Boundaries between Art and Pornography,” in S. T. Sweeney and I. Hodder, eds., *The Body* (Cambridge, 2002), 94–126, especially 100–108 for her critique of Clark and Berger.
- Both Nead and Pollock frame their discussions of the female nude within the context of obscenity/pornography. This is an important issue for the ancient material as well, which has been addressed elsewhere. (See, for example, various essays in A. Richlin, ed., *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*, including Sutton, “Pornography and Persuasion on Attic Pottery.”) I do not explicitly address the issue of pornography here as it has more to do with the reception of images than the lived experience of the unclothed body.
- 27 Nead, *The Female Nude*, 2.
- 28 Nead, *The Female Nude*, 14.
- 29 Nead, *The Female Nude*, 7.
- 30 This goal has been largely achieved by another feminist art historian, Nanette Salomon, whose work is discussed later in the context of the Aphrodite of Knidos.
- 31 Barcan, 150–165. The phenomenon of nudity in ancient Greece does not easily fit this evolutionary model.
- 32 E. Goffman, “Attitudes and Rationalizations Regarding Body Exposure,” in M. E. Roach and J. B. Eicher, eds., *Dress, Adornment, and the Social Order* (New York, 1965), 50; original emphasis.
- 33 An excellent introduction to nakedness, nudity, and the Other in Western discourse is Masquelier, “Dirt, Undress, and Difference.”
- 34 As mentioned earlier (p. 176), Barcan does not adhere to Clark’s distinction between naked and nude. For her discussion of Clark, feminist critiques of Clark, and Berger, see Barcan, *Nudity*, 30–47.
- 35 Barcan, *Nudity*, 13–14.
- 36 Barcan, *Nudity*, 14.
- 37 Barcan, *Nudity*, 17.
- 38 Barcan, *Nudity*, 24.

- 39 Nudity in Homer seems to reflect a different ideological system from that of Archaic and Classical Greece. See Bonfante, “Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art,” 547–548.
- 40 As suggested also by Sourvinou-Inwood (see especially “*Reading Greek Death*, 235–236).  
 Note that I have differentiated between athletic nudity and other types of male nudity. Bonfante considers athletic nudity a type of ritual nudity in the Archaic period that develops into a kind of civic nudity in the Classical period (“Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art,” 554–558). It will be seen that categories of male nudity overlap one another in significant ways in both the Archaic and the Classical periods.  
 Paul Christesen, in his study of the term *gymnazo*, distinguishes between informal nude exercise in the *gymnasion*, which he understands as Bonfante’s civic nudity, from formal, organized, athletic competitions such as the Panhellenic or Panathenaic games (“On the Meaning of *Gymnazo*,” *Nikephoros* 15 [2002]: 7). While from the perspective of the history of Greek athletics this is an important distinction, I wish to underscore the exclusive participation of elite men in both contexts.
- 41 For an excellent overview of athletic nudity and the construction of social identities, especially gender, see F. Gherchanoc, “Nudités athlétiques et identités en grèce ancienne,” in Gherchanoc and Huet, eds., *S’habiller, se déshabiller dans les mondes anciens*, 75–101.  
 It has been argued that exercise in *gymnasia* became more democratic in the Classical period (see p. 302, n. 53). For girls’ athletics, which some girls may have performed without clothing, see Chapter 3, Fig. 2.6 and p. 59, and this chapter, p. 185.
- 42 Much of the scholarship on athletic nudity has focused on these issues. See especially Christesen, “On the Meaning of *Gymnazo*,” 14–17; Stewart, *Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece*, 24, 27; McDonnell, “The Introduction of Athletic Nudity,” 183, 189–193; Bonfante, “Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art,” 552–553, 558; J. Mouratidis, “The Origin of Nudity in Greek Athletics,” *Journal of Sport History* 12 (1985): 213–217; N. B. Crowther, “Athletic Dress and Nudity in Greek Athletics,” *Eranos* 80 (1982): 163–168, reprinted with recent scholarship in N. B. Crowther, *Athletika: Studies on the Olympic Games and Greek Athletics* (Hildesheim, 2004), 135–140; J. A. Arieti, “Nudity in Greek Athletics,” *CW* 68 (1975): 431–432.
- 43 For discussion of the (mostly Roman) sources, see Mouratides, “The Origin of Nudity in Greek Athletics,” 215–216; Crowther, “Athletic Dress and Nudity in Greek Athletics,” 164–165; Sweet, “Protection of the Genitals in Greek Athletics,” 43–46. Several competing stories describe runners who did not win because they accidentally lost or became entangled in their loincloths; hence, the tradition that athletes compete naked. Interestingly, no sources specify that nudity was a requirement at Olympia (Scanlon, *Eros and Greek Athletics*, 406, n. 45).
- 44 For a discussion of Spartan nudity, see E. David, “Sparta and the Politics of Nudity,” in A. Powell and S. Hodkinson, eds., *Sparta: The Body Politic* (Swansea, 2010), 137–163.
- 45 A full discussion of the literary sources can be found in McDonnell, “The Introduction of Athletic Nudity,” 189–193. McDonnell notes that Thucydides’ phrase “it is not many years since the practice has ceased” corresponds with his equally vague description of the adoption of “unpretentious” Lacedaemonian dress in Athens (see Chapter 4, p. 102).
- 46 For the argument that the so-called *perizoma* group vases reflect actual Greek practice, see Crowther, “Athletic Dress and Nudity in Greek Athletics,” 167–168, with earlier bibliography; for arguments against, see McDonnell, “The Introduction of Athletic Nudity,” 186–189, and more recently Shapiro, “Modest Athletes and Liberated Women.” For the *perizoma* or *diazoma*, see Chapter 4, p. 98.
- 47 Christesen, “On the Meaning of *Gymnazo*,” 17, 19–23.
- 48 Crowther’s argument that athletic nudity was adopted in Greece following the Persian Wars because of “the Greeks’ contempt for the foreigners’ feeling of shame over the naked body” must be dismissed together with his interpretation of the *perizoma* vases (“Athletic Dress and Nudity in Greek Athletics,” 167).
- 49 Mouratides, “The Origin of Nudity in Greek Athletics,” 213. Mouratides suggests that the early nudity of the warrior-athlete transformed into athletic nudity in the second half of the eighth century (230).

- 50 Bonfante, “Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art,” 553.
- 51 See [Chapter 7](#), pp. 220–221.
- 52 Bonfante, “Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art,” 550, 554–556. We should also include in this category images of athletes preparing for (e.g., [Figure 3.1](#)) or bathing following (e.g., [Figure 3.2](#)) exercise.
- The association between athletic nudity and civic nudity in the context of the *symposion* is discussed on pp. 179–181.
- 53 S. G. Miller, “Naked Democracy,” in P. Flensted-Jensen, et al., eds., *Polis and Politics: Studies in Ancient Greek History* (Copenhagen, 2000), 282. Miller notes: “Once clothes are stripped off the human figure, it is difficult to distinguish the rich from the poor, the smart from the dumb, the aristocrat from the king or the democrat” (282). In point of fact, Bonfante’s assessment of athletic nudity in the Classical period is not at odds with that proposed by Miller. For example, she suggests that “the introduction of athletic nudity into the everyday life of the gymnasium and palaestra was part of a ‘modern’ way of life, freer, simpler, more democratic” (“Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art,” 557). Likewise, she notes that in the Classical period nudity “became a costume, a uniform: exercising together in the gymnasia marked men’s status as citizens of the polis and as Greeks” (“Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art,” 569).
- 54 Miller, “Naked Democracy,” 283.
- 55 For example, Bonfante, “Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art,” 544–545, 549–550; Mouratides, “The Origin of Nudity in Greek Athletics,” 223–224.
- 56 As pointed out by one reviewer of Bonfante, “Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art,” 550, n. 39. On the other hand, herms do appear in gymnastic contexts (Miller, “Naked Democracy,” 282–283).
- 57 One possible exception is a *kylix* attributed to the Eretria Painter in the Jack S. Blanton Museum of Art, University of Texas at Austin #1980.38 (reproduced in Hubbard, “Sex in the Gym,” [Figure 7b](#)).

At least one scholar has suggested that an important purpose of athletic nudity was to assure that the athletes displayed proper *aidos* (Arieti, “Nudity in Greek Athletics,” 435–436). But despite the charged homoerotic

atmosphere of the gymnasium, it seems to be the spectators, rather than the athletes themselves, who become aroused.

- 58 D. Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* (New York, 1990), 103. For Athens as a “phallocracy,” see Keuls, *Reign of the Phallus*.
- 59 Bonfante is primarily concerned in differentiating what she calls “civic nudity,” which she views as a development in the Classical period, from “ritual nudity,” which emerged from early initiation rites and survived in the form of athletic competitions such as the Olympics. The distinction is retained by Christesen, “On the Meaning of *Gymnazo*,” 7–8.
- 60 For example, Eva Keuls claims “that this practice [nudity] was not confined to the gymnasia and wrestling arenas but was a feature of daily life is shown in [Figure 48](#) [*chous*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 37.11.19], which depicts a reveler coming home drunk from a party” (*The Reign of the Phallus*, 67). But, as discussed later, male nudity was a feature of the *symposion*, to which this image belongs.
- 61 Nudity in ritual contexts is discussed in [Chapter 3](#) (pp. 57–60) and [Chapter 7](#) (pp. 220–221).
- 62 For further discussion of the phenomenon of partial undress, see pp. 190–195.
- 63 For the significance of body hair and head hair, see [Chapter 3](#), pp. 69–82. For *himatia*, see [Chapter 4](#), pp. 113–116; for walking sticks, [Chapter 5](#), pp. 170–171.
- 64 Infibulation is otherwise an athletic practice (see [Chapter 3](#), pp. 58–59).
- 65 Bonfante, “Nudity as a Costume,” 554–555.
- 66 K. Bassi, “Male Nudity and Disguise in the Discourse of Greek Histrionics,” *Helios* 22.1 (1995): 3; her italics.
- 67 For gender as performance, see the discussion of Judith Butler, [Chapter 2](#), p. 53.
- 68 For the relationship between and nudity and sexuality in the *symposion*, see Osborne “Men without Clothes,” 514–517.
- 69 Deliberate bodily display is discussed on pp. 192–195.

The convention of identifying older men by their clothing extends also to grave monuments: Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones: Introduction*, 30–31, 137–159.

- 70 Ludwig, *Eros and Polis*, 287–296, esp. p. 295.
- 71 See [Chapter 2](#), n. 120.
- Nudity likewise differentiates Geras from Herakles, who wears a *chitoniskos*. In general, when ideal figures are nude, non-ideal figures are clothed; but when ideal figures are clothed, non-ideal figures are naked.
- 72 Discussed in [Chapter 2](#), p. 49. Other naked workers include wine servers and trireme rowers (K. DeVries, “The Nearly Other: The Attic Vision of Phrygians and Lydians,” in Cohen, *Not the Classical Ideal*, 362–363).
- 73 For *himatia*, see [Chapter 4](#), pp. 113–116; for walking sticks, [Chapter 5](#), pp. 170–171.
- 74 The paradoxical nature and eroticization of female nudity in modern society has been explored by R. Barcan, “Female Exposure and the Protesting Woman,” *Cultural Studies Review* 8.2 (2002): 62–82. But ancient and modern attitudes diverge significantly on account of the commodification of the female body in contemporary consumer culture, coupled with the shame associated with nudity in the Judeo-Christian tradition.
- 75 Susanne Moraw argues that in vase painting feminine nudity was conceived as negative until around 500 BCE, when it was employed to convey concepts of beauty in certain contexts (“Schönheit und Sophrosyne: zum Verhältnis von weiblicher Nacktheit und bürgerlichem Status in der attischen Vasenmalerei,” *JdI* 118 [2003]: 1–47).
- 76 For female nudity in specifically mythological contexts, see B. Cohen, “The Anatomy of Cassandra’s Rape: Female Nudity Comes of Age in Greek Art,” *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 12 (1993): 37–46.
- 77 Female nudes of the geometric (ninth and eighth centuries BCE) and orientalizing (seventh century BCE) periods reflect different historical circumstances and iconographic conventions and are not considered here. For female nudes in early Greece and their connections with the Near East, see especially C. Bonnet and V. Pirenne-Delforge, “‘Cet obscur objet du désir’: la nudité féminine entre orient et grèce,” *MÉFRA* 116 (2004): 827–870; Bahrani, “The Hellenization of Ishtar.”
- For girls’ nudity in ritual contexts, see [Chapter 3](#), [Fig. 2.6](#) p. 59 and [Chapter 7](#), p. 200.
- 78 Kurke, *Coins, Bodies, Games, and Gold*, 186; and “Inventing the *Hetaira*: Sex, Politics, and Discursive Conflict in Archaic Greece,” *ClAnt* 16 (1997): 119.
- 79 A. Dalby, “Levels of Concealment: The Dress of *Hetairai* and *Pornai* in Greek Texts,” in Llewellyn-Jones, ed., *Women’s Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, 111–124. Most of the texts describing the dress of *hetairai* postdate the visual material. In classical drama, *hetairai* and other female entertainers such as flute girls seem to have been impersonated on stage by male actors wearing naked “skin” costumes comprising white tights and padding (Stone, *Costume in Aristophanic Comedy*, 147–150). For discussion, see B. Zweig, “The Mute Nude Female Characters in Aristophanes’ Plays,” in Richlin, ed., *Pornography and Representation*, 73–89.
- On transparent garments worn by *hetairai*, see p. 196.
- 80 For the significance of money-bags, see [Chapter 5](#), pp. 169–170.
- 81 Attic red-figure cup by the Agora Chaireas Painter ca. 500–490 BCE depicting woman wearing only a *sakkos*, earring, and necklace, placing a wreath on a flaming altar: Athens, Agora Museum P24102 (reproduced in Lewis, *The Athenian Woman*, p. 103, [Figure 3.9](#); Neils, “Others within the Other,” p. 217, [Figure 8.6](#)).
- 82 For changes in production and patronage in the mid-fifth century BCE, see Lewis, *The Athenian Woman*, 132–133.
- 83 For the iconography of the bridal bath, see Sutton, “Female Bathers and the Emergence of the Female Nude in Greek Art”; also Sutton, “The Invention of the Female Nude”; and Sutton, “Nuptial Eros,” 40–41; Sabetai, “Aspects of Nuptial and Genre Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens,” 320–321; J. H. Oakley and R. H. Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens* (Madison, WI, 1993), 15–16.
- 84 R. F. Sutton, “Female Bathers and the Emergence of the Female Nude in Greek Art,” in C. Kosso and A. Scott, eds., *The Nature and Function of Water, Baths, Bathing, and Hygiene from Antiquity through the Renaissance* (Leiden, 2009), 61–86.
- 85 For bridal dress, see [Chapter 7](#), pp. 208–211.
- 86 Robert Sutton argues that this vase and others depicting bridal baths represent an increased eroticization of wedding imagery in the late fifth century, despite the fact that “the

- vase shapes on which a nude bride appears are all directed at a female audience, and adult males are not included in scenes with her” (“Nuptial Eros: The Visual Discourse of Marriage in Classical Athens,” *JWalt* 55/56 [1997–1998]: 41).
- 87 Lauren Petersen has demonstrated a range of possible responses by female viewers to images of women on Greek vases (“Divided Consciousness and Female Companionship: Reconstructing Female Subjectivity on Greek Vases,” *Arethusa* 30 [1997]: 35–74). For an argument in favor of a homoerotic reading, see Rabinowitz, “Excavating Women’s Homoeroticism in Ancient Greece.”
- 88 See J. Neils, “‘Women Are White’: White Ground and the Attic Funeral,” in K. Lapatin, ed., *Papers on Special Techniques in Athenian Vases* (Los Angeles, 2008), 68–69 and Figure 8. More common, especially on white-ground *lekythoi*, are “ghost” images of polychromed and transparent garments (e.g., Neils Figures 1 and 6).
- 89 For the significance of mirrors, see Chapter 5, pp. 165–167.
- 90 For the *kalathos* as indicator of a proper woman, see Chapter 4, p. 91 and Figure 3.5. For the identification of women with containers generally, see Lissarrague, “Women, Boxes, Containers,” 91–101.
- 91 For the ages of the participants, see Chapter 2, p. 44. For girls’ coming-of-age rituals, including the *Arkteia*, as a means of body-modification, see Chapter 3, p. 59. For the special dresses worn by the younger girls in the *Arkteia*, see Chapter 7, p. 200.
- 92 Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls’ Transitions*, 33–66.
- 93 Dolls were also made of wood, bone, ivory, marble, wax, cloth, or alabaster (Neils, and Oakley, *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*, 267–268).
- 94 See, for example, Neils, and Oakley, *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*, cat. no. 124.
- 95 J. Reilly, “Naked and Limbless: Learning about the Feminine Body in Ancient Athens,” in Koloski-Ostrow and Lyons, eds., *Naked Truths*, 154–173.
- 96 As has been suggested for Roman dolls by Eve D’Ambra (*Roman Women* [Cambridge, 2007], 61–62, and Figures 25–26).
- 97 The most comprehensive study of the Knidian Aphrodite is now Seaman “Retrieving the Original Aphrodite of Knidos.” See also C. M. Havelock, *The Aphrodite of Knidos and Her Successors: A Historical Review of the Female Nude in Greek Art* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1995), though note the important review by H. King in *AJA* 100 (1996): 794–795.
- 98 It seems likely that the original marble was polychromed, which would have given the statue a much more lifelike appearance compared to the cold, white, marbles known to modern viewers. The Tinted Venus by the nineteenth-century English artist John Gibson, which likely replicates the original polychromy of the Knidia, has been described by John Boardman as “positively embarrassing; rather like coming unexpectedly upon a young woman in her bathroom” (“Nudity in Art,” in D. Kurtz, ed., *Reception of Classical Art* [Oxford, 2004], 52, Figure 54).
- Although none of the extant copies of the Knidian Aphrodite delineate the genitalia (surprising for images of the goddess of sexual love), we cannot be certain that this omission reflects the original. For a psychoanalytical treatment of this “lack,” see Bahrani, “The Hellenization of Ishtar,” 5–7. Seaman has noted evidence for painted pubes (“Retrieving the Original Aphrodite of Knidos,” 551–557); see Chapter 3, p. 265, n. 218.
- 99 For the armband, see Chapter 5, p. 151.
- 100 For the gesture, see especially N. Salomon, “Making a World of Difference: Gender, Asymmetry, and the Greek Nude,” in Koloski-Ostrow and Lyons, eds., *Naked Truths*, 197–219; also “The Venus Pudica: Uncovering Art History’s ‘Hidden Agendas’ and Pernicious Pedigrees,” in G. Pollock, ed., *Generations and Geographies in the Visual Arts: Feminist Readings* (London, 1996), 69–87; and this chapter, p. 305, n. 111. B. S. Ridgway contends that the gesture “is meant to point to, not to hide, her womb, emphasizing her fertility” (*Fourth-Century Styles in Greek Sculpture* [Madison, WI, 1997], 263).
- 101 First suggested by J. J. Bernoulli, *Aphrodite: Ein Baustein zur griechischen Kunstmythologie* (Leipzig, 1873). For discussion of Bernoulli’s interpretation of the Knidian Aphrodite as a bather, see Havelock, *The Aphrodite of Knidos and Her Successors*, 20–25.
- 102 Adapted from the translation by Pollitt, *The Art of Ancient Greece*, 84.



- Knidos is located on the southwest coast of Asia Minor (modern Turkey). Kos, an island in the modern nation state of Greece, is a short distance away.
- 103 Adapted from the translation by Pollitt, *The Art of Ancient Greece*, 86.
- 104 Adapted from the translation by Pollitt, *The Art of Ancient Greece*, 86.
- 105 Reiterated by the many ancient accounts of male viewers' erotic responses to the statue, discussed later in this chapter.
- 106 When the Knidian Aphrodite began to receive foreign visitors is unclear, though it seems likely from the literary, numismatic, sculptural, and archaeological evidence that the statue had achieved some renown by the late Hellenistic period (Havelock, *The Aphrodite of Knidos and Her Successors*, 60–67).
- 107 For the influence of Near Eastern nudes on Greek art, see Bonnet and Pirenne-Delforge, "Cet obscur objet du désir," in particular 867–868 on Near Eastern influences on the Knidian Aphrodite. For the ideologies surrounding nudity in the Near East and Greece, see Bahrani, "The Hellenization of Ishtar."
- 108 Asia Minor, always at the juncture between East and West, often engaged in such cultural and artistic borrowings. At roughly the same time as the Knidia, the famous mausoleum of Halicarnassos combined the design of eastern funerary monuments with decoration by the most famous Greek sculptors of the day, including, according to Vitruvius (*de Architectura* 7. praef. 12–13), Praxiteles.
- 109 Havelock, *The Aphrodite of Knidos and Her Successors*, 36.
- 110 Martin Robertson notes in reference to the Hellenistic Aphrodite Kallipygos ("of the beautiful buttocks"): "We tend to be shocked by a combination of strip-tease and religious art" (*A History of Greek Art* [Cambridge, 1975], 553).
- On the dialectic between dress and undress in the performance of striptease, see Barcan, *Nudity*, 18–19. Mario Perniola argues that eroticism is not a consequence of nudity but the result of "transit" between dress and undress ("Between Clothing and Nudity," in Feher, et al., eds., *Fragments for a History of the Human Body: Part Two*, 237–265).
- 111 This reading diverges from that of Nanette Salomon, who, in focusing on the *pudica* gesture notes: "the hand that points also covers and that which covers also points.... Woman, thus fashioned, is *reduced in a humiliated way to her sexuality*" ("Making a World of Difference," 204 [emphasis mine]; similar wording also in "The Venus Pudica," 73). Salomon's interpretation is important for our understanding of the female nude in the later history of Western art, which constructs "woman as perpetual rape victim" ("The Venus Pudica," 74). But it is more complicated within the ancient context, in which Praxiteles' statue functioned as a cult image of a powerful goddess. A more positive reading of the statue is possible by focusing on the garment rather than the gesture. As Solomon notes, Hellenistic sculptures influenced by the Knidian Aphrodite often dispense with the garment ("Making a World of Difference," 208–209; "The Venus Pudica," 76–77), which changes the meaning entirely.
- 112 "Looking On – Greek style," 85.
- 113 According to the Greek tradition, Aphrodite, wife of Hephaistos, "mingled in love" with both gods (Ares) and mortals (Adonis, Anchises).
- 114 For further discussion of women's reception of the Knidian Aphrodite, with special reference to her dress, see my forthcoming article, "Other 'Ways of Seeing': Female Viewers of the Knidian Aphrodite," *Helios* 42.1 (forthcoming, 2015).
- 115 Partial nudity as such is discussed by Losfeld, *L'art grec et le vêtement*, 400–437.
- 116 "Divesting the Female Breast of Clothes in Classical Sculpture," 72–74, Figures 5–7 ("Category 4"); "The Anatomy of Cassandra's Rape."
- 117 The famous trial of the *hetaira* Phryne (said to be Praxiteles' model for the Knidian Aphrodite; see p. 187) is another example of a woman divested of her garments by a man, in this case supposedly for her own defense. Although the literary sources are all late, the scene is related to other scenes of supplication in Greek literature in which a woman bares her own breasts (see p. 194). For the sources and dates of the texts, see Cooper, "Hyperides and the Trial of Phryne."
- 118 B. B. Shefton, "Herakles and Theseus on a Red-Figured Louterion," *Hesperia* 31 (1962): 356–360.

- 119 Shefton, “Herakles and Theseus on a Red-Figured Louterion,” 356.
- 120 “Divesting the Female Breast of Clothes in Classical Sculpture,” 70–72, Figure 4 (“Category 3”). The garment in question may be either a *chiton* or a *peplos*. The term “slipped chiton” is borrowed from M. Warner’s *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form* (New York, 1985), 267–293 (Chapter 12).
- 121 The Parthenon and Nike temple balustrade likewise display transparent, “wet” drapery; see p. 196 and Figure 6.8.
- 122 Neils, *The Parthenon Frieze*, 170.
- 123 See pp. 103–104.
- 124 For circumcision as a barbarian means of bodily modification, see Chapter 3, p. 86.
- 125 See Chapter 3, p. 76. The diaphanous appearance of his garment is another element of bodily display. See pp. 195–197.
- Interestingly, the two *hetairai* shown reclining on cushions on the shoulder of the vase wear their *himatia* the same way. Whether they do so in imitation of their male clients or to display their breasts is unclear, though it would seem to be intentional in any case.
- 126 Though not with his hands, as women generally do.
- 127 For discussion of this vase, see Chapter 2, p. 49.
- 128 For discussion of the *exomis*, see Chapter 3, p. 112; for the Heraia, see Chapter 7, p. 201.
- 129 Cohen explains this garment as part “fashion design” (“Category 1”) and part “purposeful breast exposure” (“Category 2”) (“Divesting the Female Breast of Clothes in Classical Sculpture,” 68).
- 130 For images of women breastfeeding, see Bonfante, “Nursing Mothers in Classical Art.”
- 131 Ginouvès, *Balaneutike*, 164–165. Reilly notes that such bundles of garments appear also in bridal dressing scenes (“Many Brides,” 423).
- Compare Figure 3.10, in which the man’s discarded *himation* is wound around his walking stick and set to the side while he engages in intercourse with a *hetaira*.
- 132 See Chapter 3, pp. 57–62.
- 133 Compare the cup by Makron, Figure 6.7.
- 134 Compare the gesture of the bronze scraper from Ephesos (Figure 3.3), which, when viewed from the proper angle, serves as a kind of index toward his genitals.
- 135 S. Blundell, “Clutching at Clothes,” in Llewellyn-Jones, ed., *Women’s Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, 144–145.
- Dressing scenes invariably depict women rather than men, who are generally confined to arming scenes (e.g., Figure 4.15) or youths preparing for the symposion (e.g., Figure 4.17). Several male figures on the ionic frieze of the Parthenon are represented putting on garments (W30) and footwear (W12, W29) in preparation for the procession, and one exceptional figure (N135) grasps his *chitoniskos* as if to lift his skirt. Two other male figures (N44 and N69) manipulate their *himatia* in active poses. For images of the frieze, see J. Neils, *The Parthenon Frieze* (Cambridge, 2001).
- 136 For the *strophion*, see Chapter 4, pp. 98–100.
- 137 Compare the comparatively chaste image of the fully draped maiden loosening her *zone* in the presence of Artemis (Figure 4.7). At the other end of the spectrum, the transparent garment of the personification of *Pompe* (Figure 7.11) leaves nothing to the imagination; see p. 217.
- 138 See Chapter 7, pp. 211–212.
- 139 For transparent garments, see pp. 195–197.
- 140 See Chapter 4, p. 100.
- 141 Cohen, “Divesting the Female Breast of Clothes in Classical Sculpture,” 69, and n. 27. The vase (Getty 80.AE.155.1) is reproduced in T. H. Carpenter, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece* (London, 1991), Figure 355.
- Evelyn Harrison noted that “the bared right breast most often has erotic significance; the bared left suggests motherhood or care of the young” (“Two Pheidian Heads: Nike and Amazon,” in D. Kurtz and B. Sparkes, eds., *The Eye of Greece: Studies in the Art of Athens* [Cambridge, 1982], 86–87).
- 142 An early exception is the Daedalic ivory relief (mid-seventh century BCE) in the Metropolitan Museum (inv. 17.190.73) depicting two women, probably the daughters of Proitos, removing their garments. The figure on the left has unfastened her long, tubular, garment on the right side to reveal her right breast; the figure on the right has loosened hers completely to display both breasts as well as carefully delineated genitals. Their partial

nudity is explained by the mythological subject, a story related to Dionysos in which the women are driven to madness and strip naked. The same theme appears also in the painted metopes from Thermon in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, which also date to the seventh century BCE. See Harrison, “Notes on Daedalic Dress,” 44–45, and Figures 5, 6, and 9; also Bonfante, “Classical Nudity in Italy and Greece,” 274, and Figure 2. Other mythological examples include Aphrodite (discussion on pp. 186–190) and, especially, Baubo (M. Olender, “Aspects of Baubo: Ancient Texts and Contexts,” in Halperin, et al., eds., *Before Sexuality*, 83–113). For a representation in vase painting of the mythological Atalante wearing a “peek-a-boo” bra, see Chapter 4, p. 100.

- 143 See, for example, Lear and Cantarella, *Images of Ancient Greek Pederasty*, esp. 80–84, Figures 2.11A–D; Hubbard, “Sex in the Gym,” 8–10, Figures 2 and 3. E; H. A. Shapiro, “Eros in Love: Pederasty and Pornography in Greece,” in Richlin, ed., *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*, 70–71, Figure 3.10. Evelyn Harrison traced the same gesture in images of the youthful god Apollo: “Apollo’s Cloak,” in G. Kopcke and M. B. Moore, eds., *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology: A Tribute to Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen* (Locust Valley, NY, 1979), 91–98, and plates 25–28.

That deliberate display of the genitals was not considered appropriate for adult men is suggested by Theophrastus’ portrait of Obnoxiousness: “The obnoxious man is the sort who, when he meets respectable women, raises his cloak and exposes his genitals” (*Characters* 11.1–2).

For deliberate bodily display in the ritual context of the *Euandria*, a sort of male beauty contest; see Chapter 7, p. 224, and Figure 7.15.

- 144 Further discussion in Hubbard, “Sex in the Gym,” 10, n. 54, and Figure 3.
- 145 The garments all display corner “weights” or tassels; see Chapter 4, p. 95.
- 146 The most extensive treatment to date is H. Büsing, “Durchscheinende Gewänder vorhellenistischer Zeit,” *BABesch* 56 (1981), 75–83, which attributes the appearance of diaphanous garments in Archaic sculpture to the establishment of trade with Egypt in the

early sixth century. See also Losfeld, *L’art grec et le vêtement*, 371–399.

- 147 Often-cited examples include the statue of Nikandre from Delos and the so-called Berlin goddess; also the “Peplos kore” (Figure 4.2) and Phrasikleia (Figure 5.8). Good photographs can be found in Karakasi, *Archaic Korai*.
- 148 Salomon notes: “The application of this style to representations of Nike where there is rapid movement or placement in fountains as on the mast of a ship may rationally account for the clinging drapery. But the goddesses on the Parthenon pediment are ‘wet’ for no logical reason” (“Making a World of Difference,” 203).

According to Stewart, “this development demolished at one stroke the entire Greek project of female containment announced by the myth of Pandora ... and by the allied trend to clothe women in painting and sculpture” (*Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece*, 102).

- 149 For silk, and the so-called *Coae vestes*, see Chapter 4, pp. 90–91.
- 150 See especially Dalby, “Levels of Concealment.”
- 151 The female personification of religious procession (*Pompe*) wears a transparent garment in Figure 7.11.
- 152 See also Llewellyn-Jones, “A Woman’s View?” 188–189.
- “See-through *chitones*” are among the articles employed by Lysistrata and her sister Athenians in their sex strike to save the city (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 48).
- 153 As argued by Blundell, “Clutching at Clothes,” 143.

## CHAPTER 7: SOCIAL CONTEXTS OF DRESS

- 1 *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens*, 23.
- 2 Parker, *Miasma*, 50–51; Ginouvès, *Balaneutike*, 235–237. The mother was bathed at the same time, see p. 312, n. 89.
- 3 The infant Ion was abandoned by his mother, Kreousa, at the sanctuary to Apollo at Delphi. Many years later, mother and son are reunited, his swaddling cloths the key to his identity:

CREUSA

See, all of you, the weaving I did as a girl.

ION

What kind of weaving? Maidens weave many things.

CREUSA

One not finished: you could call it my shuttle's apprentice work.

ION

And its design? Don't try to trick me here!

CREUSA

In the middle of the warp it has a Gorgon.

ION

O Zeus, what is this fate that tracks me down!

CREUSA

And it is fringed with serpents like an aegis.

ION

See! Here is the weaving! I find you speak the truth!

CREUSA

O maiden loomwork, woven so long ago.

The textile is actually identified as *peploi* in line 1421, which, as I have argued elsewhere, should be understood as a poetic use of the term ("Evil Wealth of Raiment").

For techniques of surface decoration of Greek textiles, see [Chapter 4](#), pp. 93–95.

- 4 It is possible that the garments were further distinguished by means of polychromy, which does not survive.

- 5 For the age and gender of the participants in the Anthesteria, see [Chapter 2](#), p. 38 and p. 43.

- 6 For example, the appearance of facial hair (see [Chapter 3](#), p. 76).

- 7 For the Panathenaia, see below, pp. 222–224.

According to a late source, *arrephoroi* were required to wear white garments, and any gold jewelry was to be dedicated to the goddess (R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens* [Oxford, 2005], 223, n. 23). Such prescriptions are common in Greek sanctuaries (see pp. 215–216), but would have been especially appropriate for young girls in the service of a virgin goddess, given the erotic connotations of colored garments and gold jewelry.

- 8 Brauron was also an important site for the dedication of garments by adult women; see pp. 213–214.

- 9 For an overview of the iconographic evidence for the Arkteia, see L. Kahil, "Mythological Repertoire of Brauron," in W. Moon, ed.,

*Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* (Madison, WI, 1983), 231–244.

- 10 For physiognomic indicators of age, see [Chapter 2](#), p. 44; for the foot races as girls' athletics, see [Chapter 3](#), p. 59.

- 11 For hairstyles as indicators of age, see [Chapter 3](#), p. 72.

- 12 A late scholiast on the passage suggests that the *krotokos* resembled the skin of a bear, which the girls mimicked in the Arkteia (Kahil, "Mythological Repertoire of Brauron," 237 and n. 22).

- 13 See [Chapter 4](#), p. 93, n. 35.

- 14 For men's athletics as a means of body modification, see [Chapter 3](#), pp. 57–59.

- 15 For the garment dedicated to Hera, see p. 218.

- 16 Serwint, "The Female Athletic Costume at the Heraia and Prenuptial Initiation Rites." For the *exomis*, see [Chapter 4](#), p. 112. Since the *exomis* was generally worn by workers, it is possible that social status was also inverted in the Heraia.

- 17 In the words of Robert Parker, "The *kanephoros* ... constituted a kind of beauty parade, at which maidens ready for marriage emerged briefly from seclusion to display their ripened charms" (*Polytheism and Society at Athens*, 226).

- 18 For the *chiton*, see [Chapter 4](#), pp. 106–110; for the *ependytes*, see [Chapter 4](#), pp. 123–124; for the back-mantle, see [Chapter 4](#), p. 119.

- 19 The hairstyles of the caryatids have been recreated by Katherine Schwab, with the assistance of Fairfield University student volunteers.

- 20 As noted by M. Blomberg, "Five Greek Gold Earrings in the Medelhavsmuseet," *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 20 (1985): 56–57. Such braids are rare prior to the Hellenistic period. The evidence does not support Meret Mangold's proposal that the braids identify the caryatids specifically as servants of the cult of Athena (M. Mangold, "Zur Frisur der Erechtheionkoren," *Hefte des Archäologischen Seminars der Universität Bern* [1987], 5–7).

- 21 Indeed, this hairstyle also served the practical purpose of keeping a child's hair away from the face (as noted in Neils and Oakley, eds., *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*, 307, cat. no. 125).

- 22 As argued by D. D. Leitaο, “The Perils of Leukippos: Initiatory Transvestism and Male Gender Ideology in the Ekdusia at Phaistos,” *ClAnt* 14 (1995): 130–163. See also now G. Pironti, “Autour du corps viril en Crète ancienne: l’ombre et le *peplos*,” in Gherchanoc and Huet, eds., *Vêtements antiques*, 93–103.
- 23 Leitaο, “The Perils of Leukippos,” 133–134. For the significance of military dress, see this chapter, pp. 205–206. For athletic nudity, see [Chapter 6](#), pp. 177–179.
- 24 On the *oschophoria*, see most recently Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens*, 211–217.
- 25 E. Böhr, “Ein Jüngling beim Fest der Oschophoria?” in E. Christof et al., eds., *Potnia theron: Festschrift für Gerda Schwarz zum 65. Geburtstag* (Vienna, 2007) 69–73; E. R. Knauer, “Two Cups by the Triptolemos Painter: New Light on Two Athenian Festivals?” *AA* 2 (1996). Knauer notes that Theseus also wears short *chitones* (*chitoniskoi*) in many vase paintings. For *chitones* and *chitoniskoi* as feminine dress, see [Chapter 4](#), pp. 106–111.
- 26 For transvestism in the ritual context of the *symposion*, see p. 220.  
The *oschophoria* was literally transitional, as the procession traveled from a shrine to Dionysos within the city of Athens to that of Athena Skiras in the “marginal” city of Phaleron, on the coast of Attica. Parker notes that this epithet of the goddess may be related to the name of a white clay called *skiron*, known from a late source, which was collected at Phaleron and smeared on the face as a “ritual disguise” (Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens*, 216).
- 27 Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens*, 458–460; Knauer, “Two Cups by the Triptolemos Painter”; S. G. Cole, “The Social Function of Rituals of Maturation: The Koureion and the Arkteia,” *ZPE* 55 (1984): 233–244.  
For the *Apatouria*, see [Chapter 2](#), p. 38.
- 28 Leitaο, “Adolescent Hair-Growing and Hair-Cutting Rituals in Ancient Greece,” 112–118.  
For the Aegean Bronze Age tradition of growing a single lock of hair, which seems to have been borrowed from Egypt, see Davis, “Youth and Age in the Thera Frescoes,” 401–402.
- 29 A terra cotta plait was recovered from the Asklepieion at Corinth. See Roebuck, *Corinth* XIV, cat. no. 116, pl. 45.
- 30 Harrison, “Greek Sculpted Coiffures and Ritual Haircuts,” 248.
- 31 For an application of dress theory to arms and armor from a cross-cultural perspective, see R. A. Macaraeg, “Dressed to Kill: Toward a Theory of Fashion in Arms and Armor,” *Fashion Theory* 11.1 (2007): 41–64.
- 32 See especially van Wees, “Greeks Bearing Arms,” 333–358; also Bassi, “Male Nudity and Disguise in the Discourse of Greek Histrionics,” 5, 7.
- 33 See [Chapter 2](#), p. 40.
- 34 For arms and armor as status symbols, see especially H. van Wees, *Greek Warfare: Myths and Realities* (London, 2004), 47–60.
- 35 Compare the observation of Herodotus that the Persian army fell to the Greeks because “they wore no armor over their raiment, and fought as it were naked against men fully armed” (9.63).
- 36 The classic study is A. M. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* (Ithaca, NY, 1967). Typologies of arms and armor have been established by A. Schwartz, *Reinstating the Hoplite: Arms, Armour and Phalanx Fighting in Archaic and Classical Greece* (Stuttgart, 2009) and E. Jarva, *Archaiologia on Archaic Greek Body Armour* (= *Studia Archaeologica Septentrionalia* 3; Rovaniemi, Finland, 1995), though see the important review of the latter by H. van Wees, *CR* n.s. 47.1 (1997): 154–155.
- 37 Schwartz, *Reinstating the Hoplite*, 95–101; Jarva, *Archaiologia on Archaic Greek Body Armour*, esp. 132–139.
- 38 V. D. Hanson’s assessment of “The Burden of Hoplite Arms and Armor” (*The Western Way of War: Infantry Battle in Classical Greece*<sup>2</sup> [Berkeley, CA, 1989], 55–88) is based largely on the literary evidence, in conjunction with experiments using replicas created by his students (56).  
The ability of a hoplite to manipulate heavy arms and armor was showcased in ritual dances in arms such as the *hoplomachia*; see p. 224.
- 39 Note Xenophon’s account of the fine dress of a Greek commander ready for battle: “Xenophon arose, arrayed for war in his finest dress. For he thought that if the gods should grant victory, the finest raiment

- was suited to victory; and if it should be his fate to die, it was proper, he thought, that inasmuch as he had accounted his office worthy of the most beautiful attire, in this attire he should meet his death” (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 3.2.7).
- 40 Van Wees, *Greek Warfare*, 53. The practice of displaying armor in a *tropaion* (trophy), which marked a military victory, underscores its symbolic value even when it was not being worn. On the *tropaion*, see van Wees, *Greek Warfare*, 136–138.
- 41 Conversely, ancient authors compared the tanned, oiled skin of the athlete to the appearance of a bronze statue: see Chapter 3, p. 57.
- 42 The reverse of this vase depicts athletes in training, underscoring the essential connection between warfare and athletics. It is impossible to tell from the visual sources what material was used for the corselet. The authors of a recent study argue that such images represent the *linothorax* mentioned in literature. In their extensive experiments, multiple layers of woven linen fabric bonded with glue proved quite impermeable to replica arrowheads shot from various distances. See G. S. Aldrete et al., *Reconstructing Ancient Linen Body Armor: Unraveling the Linothorax Mystery* (Baltimore, MD, 2013).
- 43 Lear, *Images of Ancient Greek Pederasty*, 97–99. Compare the youth in Figure 4.17, who wraps his *himation* in preparation for the *symposion*; youths are also depicted fastening their sandals for the same reason (see Chapter 5, p. 164). See also Figure 3.1, in which youthful athletes undress in preparation for exercise.
- 44 Oakley, *Picturing Death in Classical Athens*, 181, Figures 141–142.
- 45 For funerary dress, see pp. 225–227.
- 46 That the bride is the focus of the ancient Greek wedding has parallels in many cultures, including those in which women’s public roles are likewise limited. The central role of women in childbearing, and thus the continuity of society, is likely an important factor. Because women are also responsible for the production of cloth and clothing in many cultures, the dress of the bride is often ascribed special import in the maintenance of cultural traditions. See H. B. Foster and D. C. Johnson, eds., *Wedding Dress across Cultures* (Oxford, 2003), 1–2.
- 47 *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*, 215–216; Oakley and Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens*, 14–15.
- 48 Translation: Oakley and Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens*, 14.
- 49 Calame, *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece*, 145.
- 50 Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*, 215–216; Calame, *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece*, 106; Vêrilhac and Vial, *Le mariage grec*, 287–289. A bridal haircutting ritual is depicted in the Locrian pinakes: see Prückner, *Die lokrischen Tonreliefs*, Figure 8.
- 51 Dillon argues that the *pinakes* from Epizephyrian Locris (pp. 218–219, Figure 7.12) depict dedications of nuptial garments to Persephone (*Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*, 222–228).
- 52 Vêrilhac and Vial, *Le mariage grec*, 289–291.
- 53 The bridal belt might then be dedicated after the wedding, as argued by P. Schmitt, “Athéna Apatouria et la ceinture: Les aspects féminins des Apatouries à Athènes,” *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 32 (1977): 1059–1073.
- 54 In addition to Oakley and Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens*, see Sabetai, “Aspects of Nuptial and Genre Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens”; Sutton, “Nuptial Eros.” The corpus also includes the so-called mistress and maid scenes on Athenian funerary *lekythoi*, which Joan Reilly has convincingly shown depict brides “always preparing for a wedding that never takes place” (“Many Brides,” 431).
- 55 Oakley and Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens*, 4–8.
- 56 The evidence for a *nymphokomos* (or *nymphoponos*), who was specifically responsible for dressing the bride, is late. See Oakley and Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens*, 16 and n. 41.
- 57 In a sense, the bride herself represented the transfer of wealth from her father’s household to that of the bridegroom. See G. Ferrari, “What Kind of Rite of Passage Was the Ancient Greek Wedding?” in Dodd and Faraone, eds., *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives*, 27–42.
- 58 See Chapter 6, p. 184 and also Ginouvès, *Balaneutike*, 265–282.
- 59 The practice continues in modern Greece; see E. J. Håland, “‘Take, Skamandros, My



- Virginity”: Ideas of Water in Connection with Rites of Passage in Greece, Modern and Ancient,” in Kosso and Scott, eds., *The Nature and Function of Water, Baths, Bathing, and Hygiene from Antiquity through the Renaissance*, 109–148.
- 60 The significance of the *loutrophoros* is underscored by the fact that these vessels, or marble imitations of them, were placed on the graves of unmarried girls. In a sense, the maiden was married to Hades (or death).
- 61 The pose is replicated in Hellenistic sculptures of Aphrodite bathing, the so-called Crouching Aphrodite type. See Sutton, “The Invention of the Female Nude” and “Female Bathers and the Emergence of the Female Nude in Greek Art,” with earlier references.
- 62 Although it has been suggested by some that the female figure wearing a *strophion* in Figure 4.4 is a bride dressing for her wedding, the presence of the satyr on the left makes this identification unlikely.
- 63 Though red spotted garments appear in Aegean art, most notably the diaphanous yellow veil covered with red spots worn by an adolescent girl in the Xeste 3 paintings at Akrotiri, Thera (Rehak, “Crocus Costumes in Aegean Art,” 89–90 and Figure 5.6). For the use of saffron as a yellow dye, see Chapter 4, p. 93.
- 64 C. Sourvinou-Inwood, ‘Reading’ Greek Culture: Texts and Images, Rituals and Myths (Oxford, 1991), 164–170, and Figure 15. On the Locrian *pinakes*, see this chapter, pp. 218–219.
- 65 The groom’s spotted *himation* is discussed later in the chapter.
- 66 L. Welters, “Gilding the Lily: Dress and Women’s Reproductive Role in the Greek Village, 1850–1950,” in L. Welters, ed., *Folk Dress in Europe and Anatolia: Beliefs about Protection and Fertility* (Oxford, 1999), 78.
- 67 Oakley and Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens*, 14.
- 68 Compare the Berber tradition of covering the bride in layers of garments, sashes, and jewelry, to protect her from the “evil eye”: C. Becker, “Gender, Identity and Moroccan Weddings: The Adornment of the Ait Khabbash Berber Bride and Groom,” in Foster and Johnson, eds., *Wedding Dress across Cultures*, 110.
- 69 Indeed, the final “vignette” on the *pyxis* represents the married life anticipated by the bride: she is seated indoors in the company of other women (including, perhaps, the goddess Aphrodite), a winged Eros on her lap as a temporary stand-in for the much-desired baby boy.
- 70 For textiles as valuable objects transferred with the bride, see B. Wagner-Hasel, “*Tria Himatia*: Vêtement et mariage en Grèce ancienne,” in Gherchanoc and Huet, eds., *Vêtements antiques*, 39–46.
- Jacobsthal has identified the elaborate gold “sphinx” pin in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, as an heirloom (*Greek Pins and Their Connections with Europe and Asia*, 82).
- 71 Oakley and Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens*, 15–16.
- 72 Oakley and Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens*, 15–16.
- 73 Again, the Berber tradition provides a striking parallel: Becker, “Gender, Identity and Moroccan Weddings,” 117.
- 74 For an overview of the conventional interpretation of the *anakalypteria*, see Oakley and Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens*, 25–26; also Vérilhac and Vial, *Le mariage grec*, 304–312.
- 75 Llewellyn-Jones has argued that this “starry” veil represents a “shining” garment, perhaps red in color (*Aphrodite’s Tortoise*, 223–227). While this interpretation is certainly attractive, there is no evidence that a specific color was prescribed for the ancient Greek wedding veil, as it was for the Roman *flammeum*. See Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman*, 21–25; La Follette, “The Costume of the Roman Bride,” 55–56.
- 76 Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite’s Tortoise*, 87–98.
- 77 See Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite’s Tortoise*, 227–248.
- 78 Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite’s Tortoise*, 241–247.
- 79 Ferrari, “What Kind of Rite of Passage Was the Ancient Greek Wedding?” 32–35; also *Figures of Speech*, 186–190.
- 80 Ferrari, “What Kind of Rite of Passage Was the Ancient Greek Wedding?” 35.
- 81 King, *Hippocrates’ Woman*, 81.
- 82 I have explored maternity dress in greater detail in: “Maternity and Miasma: Dress and the Transition from *Parthenos* to *Gyne*,” in L. H. Petersen and P. Salzman-Mitchell, eds., *Mothering and Motherhood in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Austin, TX, 2012), 23–42.
- 83 See, for example, Lee, “Maternity and Miasma,” Figures 2.1–2.4.

- 84 Literary sources mentioning childbirth describe the laboring woman as having loosened garments and unbound hair (Lee, “Maternity and Miasma,” 31 and n. 35).
- 85 Lee, “Maternity and Miasma,” 29–30 and n. 25.
- 86 For more on the garments of the deceased, see pp. 226–227.
- 87 For the texts themselves, see Cleland, *The Brauron Clothing Catalogues*; Linders, *Studies in the Treasure Records of Artemis Brauronia Found in Athens*. For discussion, see especially L. Foxhall and K. Stears, “Redressing the Balance: Dedications of Clothing to Artemis and the Order of Life Stages,” in M. Donald and L. Hurcombe, eds., *Gender and Material Culture in Historical Perspective* (New York, 2000), 3–16.
- 88 “Offrandes à Artémis pour une naissance autour du relief d’Achinos,” 162–163. The original publication of the relief identified the draped figure as the mother-in-law, and the mother as the young woman in the center holding the infant: F. Dakoronia and L. Gounaropoulou, “Artemiskult auf einem neuen Weihrelief aus Achinos bei Lamia,” *AM* 107 (1992): 220–222.
- 89 Lee, “Maternity and Miasma,” 36. Parker notes that although the first bath of mother and infant was an important event, “the act of physical washing was not sufficient to re-establish purity” (*Miasma*, 51).  
The notion that the “evil forces” surrounding pregnancy could be negotiated by means of dress persisted into the modern period: see R. Bailey, “Clothes Encounters of the Gynecological Kind: Medical Mandates and Maternity Modes in the USA, 1850–1990,” in R. Barnes and J. B. Eicher, eds., *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning* (Oxford, 1992), 248–265.
- 90 This section considers dress in religious contexts generally, and not the specific rituals that accompanied the individual life span, from birth to death, which are treated elsewhere in this chapter.  
The few synthetic treatments of dress in the religious sphere generally conflate ritual and funerary practices (discussed on pp. 225–228). See Morizot, “Les grecs, leurs vêtements, leur image,” 43–48; Losfeld, *Essai sur le costume grec*, 312–326; Pekridou-Gorecki, *Mode im antiken Griechenland*, 101–108.
- 91 See especially Mills, “Greek Clothing Regulations,” with critique by P. Culham, “Again, What Meaning Lies in Colour!” *ZPE* 64 (1986): 235–245. Daniel Ogden suggests a range of “potential rationalizations” for the regulation of women’s dress, including sumptuary control, restrictions on displays of wealth, the promotion of female chastity, and the policing of gender roles (“Controlling Women’s Dress: *Gynaikonomoi*,” in Llewellyn-Jones, ed., *Women’s Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, 210).
- 92 Greek “sacred laws” are collected in F. Sokolowski, *Lois Sacrées des cités grecques: supplément* (Paris, 1962), together with E. Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law: A Collection of New Documents* (Leiden, 2009).  
For general discussion, see J. B. Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess: Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece* (Princeton, NJ, 2007), 90–92; Mills, “Greek Clothing Regulations.”
- 93 A type of fringed tunic of Egyptian origin.
- 94 A linen or cotton garment of Eastern origin.
- 95 Adapted from L. Gawlinski, *The Sacred Law of Andania: A New Text with Commentary* (= *Sozomena* 11) (Berlin, 2012), 68–71, with commentary pp. 107–133; also published in Gawlinski, “‘Fashioning’ Initiates: Dress at the Mysteries,” in Colburn and Heyn, eds., *Reading a Dynamic Canvas*, 157–158.
- 96 Gawlinski, *The Sacred Law of Andania*, 107–110. Although the Andania inscription is late (93 BCE), it reflects patterns in dress regulations dating as early as the Archaic period.
- 97 Compare Figure 7.11 (discussed on p. 217) in which Eros ties his sandals in preparation for a religious procession (*Pompe*).
- 98 Blundell, “Beneath Their Shining Feet,” 41; *eadem*, “Clutching at Clothes,” 149–150.
- 99 Color white of crowns, diadems, and garments: K. Mayer, “Die Bedeutung der weissen Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer,” PhD thesis, Freiburg, 1927.
- 100 Although black garments were worn by the young participants in a ritual at the Corinthian sanctuary of Hera Akraia at Perachora, established to atone for Medea’s infanticide of her sons (Neils, “Children and Greek Religion,” 142; Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*, 69–69).
- 101 Gawlinski, *The Sacred Law of Andania*, 117–118; *eadem*, “‘Fashioning’ Initiates,” 161.

- Christopher Jones suggests that linen garments are especially connected with purity on account of their “organic” origin (“Processional Colors,” in B. Bergmann and C. Kondoleon, *The Art of Ancient Spectacle* [= CASVA Symposium Papers 24; *Studies in the History of Art* 56] [Washington, DC, 1999]). As noted in [Chapter 4](#) (pp. 94–95), linen does not take dye well, and was valued for its whiteness.
- 102 Gawlinski, *The Sacred Law of Andania*, 118. On diaphanous garments and bodily display, see [Chapter 6](#), pp. 195–196.
- 103 The width of the bands on the Roman *toga praetexta* was likewise circumscribed. See S. Stone, “The Toga: From National to Ceremonial Costume,” in Sebesta and Bonfante, eds., *The World of Roman Costume*, 13–15, with earlier bibliography.
- 104 Though Gawlinski notes that the price limits are in fact quite high, which suggests that spending was, to a degree, encouraged (*The Sacred Law of Andania*, 121). See also Gawlinski, “‘Fashioning’ Initiates,” 158.
- 105 For similar bans on cosmetics, see Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law*, 16, 172; Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, 71–72, no. 33. Though note that at Athens, *kanephoroi* participating the Panathenaia were said to have used *psimythion* (this chapter, p. 314, n. 149).
- 106 Gawlinski suggests that the “unbinding” of the hair, like the unbinding of footwear in Greek sanctuaries, reflects a magical belief in the power of knots generally (“‘Fashioning’ Initiates,” 159–160).
- 107 See especially Jones, “Processional Colors,” 247–257.
- 108 Gawlinski, *The Sacred Law of Andania*, 95, 234, 239; *eadem*, “‘Fashioning’ Initiates,” 163–164, and n. 47. *Strophion* is also the name of a type of breast-band; see [Chapter 5](#), pp. 98–100.
- 109 Jones, “Processional Colors,” 252–253.
- 110 Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess*, 85–115, esp. pp. 92–104.
- 111 On the draping of the *himation*, see [Chapter 4](#), pp. 113–116.
- 112 Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess*, 111. Connelly suggests that an actual gold scepter in the British Museum, reportedly from a fourth-century grave at Taras, may have belonged to a priestess of Hera (*Portrait of a Priestess*, 88–89, and [Figure 4.1](#)).
- 113 Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess*, 104–115.
- 114 See p. 207 and pp. 213–214.
- 115 But even “old” and “unusable” garments were inventoried at Hellenistic Miletus: W. Günther, “‘Vieux et inutilisable’ dans un inventaire inédit de Milet,” in D. Knoepfner, ed., *Comptes et inventaires dans la Cité grecque* (Geneva, 1988), 215–237.
- 116 In the Brauron inventories, a few garments are identified as “unfinished” or “half-woven,” which suggests that they might have been specially prepared for cult purposes (Linders, *Studies in the Treasure Records of Artemis Brauronia Found in Athens*, 17–19). It is also possible that these garments were unfinished when the weaver died, rendering them unusable by her survivors – and therefore appropriate as votive offerings.
- 117 Linders, *Studies in the Treasure Records of Artemis Brauronia Found in Athens*, 11–12. The text should not be taken as evidence for the ritual adornment of cult statues; see p. 223.
- 118 Pausanias 5.15.5–6 and 6.24.10. See the commentary by Scheid and Svenbro in *The Craft of Zeus*, 10–15.
- 119 It should be noted that no evidence exists to corroborate Pausanias’ account. It is quite possible that his description of the collective weaving and dedication of the *peplos* at Olympia was influenced by his knowledge of the Panathenaic *peplos*. See Lee, “The Myth of the Classical *Peplos*,” 237–238.
- 120 G. Greco, “Des étoffes pour Héra,” in J. de la Genière, ed., *Héra: images, espaces, cultes* (Naples, 1997), 192–194.
- 121 For the storage of garments, see [Chapter 4](#), pp. 95–96.
- 122 Sourvinou-Inwood, “Reading” *Greek Culture*, 164–170.
- 123 See Lee, “The Myth of the Classical *Peplos*,” 254–257. It is unclear whether garment fasteners were dedicated together with garments: see Lee, “The Myth of the Classical *Peplos*,” 239–240.
- 124 Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins and Their Connections with Europe and Asia*, 33–39.
- 125 Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*, 24. The various functions of bathing in religious contexts are discussed extensively in Ginouvès, *Balanentike*, 298–428.
- 126 Parker, *Miasma*, 20–21.
- 127 Parker, *Miasma*, 215.

- 128 J. Bremmer, “Transvestite Dionysos,” in M. W. Padilla, ed., *Rites of Passage in Ancient Greece: Literature, Religion, Society* (Lewisburg, 1999), 183–200.
- 129 Earlier interpretations of the images as representing women wearing false beards have been dismissed (Miller, “Reexamining Transvestism in Archaic and Classical Athens,” 232).  
Although both men and women are represented as *komasts* in early black-figure vase painting, they are consistently distinguished according to gender: T. J. Smith, “Transvestism or Travesty? Dance, Dress and Gender in Greek Vase-Painting,” in Llewellyn-Jones, ed., *Women’s Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, 33–53.
- 130 Miller, “Reexamining Transvestism in Archaic and Classical Athens,” 247.
- 131 R. T. Neer, *Style and Politics in Athenian Vase-Painting: The Craft of Democracy, ca. 520–460 B.C.E* (Cambridge, 2002), 19–23; Cohen, “Ethnic Identity in Democratic Athens and the Visual Vocabulary of Male Costume,” 245–247. For the notion that *symposiasts* “play the other,” then resume their usual identities, see Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague, “From Ambiguity to Ambivalence,” 229–232.  
The transvestism of divine figures differs significantly from human practices. See, for example, Lee, “Acheloös Peplophoros,” with earlier bibliography.
- 132 As noted by Stewart, *Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece*, 27.
- 133 The sacred law of Andania (line 15) specifies that new initiates be wreathed with laurel. The so-called crown competitions at the Panhellenic sanctuaries awarded victors wreaths of olive (Olympia), laurel (Delphi), pine (Isthmia), and wild celery (Nemea).
- 134 K. Clinton, “Stages of Initiation in the Eleusinian and Samothracian Mysteries,” in M. B. Cosmopoulos, ed., *Greek Mysteries: The Archaeology and Ritual of Ancient Greek Secret Cults* (London, 2003), 50–78.
- 135 See p. 214, and Lee, “Maternity and Miasma,” 34–36.
- 136 Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*, 69–70 and 124–125; Parker, *Miasma*, 82, n. 34. “Skiron” is also the name of a white clay that, according to a late source, was smeared on the face as a ritual disguise (Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens*, p. 216 and n. 108).
- 137 The literature on the Panathenaia is extensive. See especially J. Neils, ed., *Worshipping Athena: Panathenaia and Parthenon* (Madison, WI, 1996), and *eadem*, ed., *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens* (Princeton, NJ, 1992).
- 138 The Chalkeia honored Athena Ergane as the goddess of handicraft, together with Hephaistos, patron deity of metallurgy (*chalko* means copper or bronze).
- 139 The evidence is collected in J. M. Mansfield, “The Robe of Athena and the Panathenaic Peplos,” PhD thesis, Berkeley, 1985, pp. 274–289.
- 140 This interpretation is supported by J. Neils, “Pride, Pomp, and Circumstance: The Iconography of Procession,” in J. Neils, ed., *Worshipping Athena*, 186–189.
- 141 As argued by Barber, “The Peplos of Athena,” 112–117; and *eadem*, *Prehistoric Textiles*, 360–365.
- 142 Scheid and Svenbro, *The Craft of Zeus*, 178, n. 43; Harrison, “Hellenic Identity,” 60, n. 92.
- 143 Again, the sources are complex. See especially Robertson, “The Praxiergidae Decree (IG I<sup>3</sup> 7) and the Dressing of Athena’s Statue with the Peplos,” with earlier bibliography.
- 144 The Praxiergidae were also responsible for the dressing of the statue in the *peplos* at the Panathenaia (discussed later in the chapter).
- 145 Mansfield argues that the *peplos* displayed on the ship-cart was in fact a second *peplos* woven by professional male weavers (“The Robe of Athena and the Panathenaic Peplos”).
- 146 An alternative reading proposed by Joan Connelly (“Parthenon and Parthenoi: A Mythological Interpretation of the Parthenon Frieze,” *AJA* 100 [1996]: 53–80), identifying the frieze with the mythological sacrifice of the Erechtheids, has not been generally accepted. For other alternative readings, see Lee, “The Myth of the Classical Peplos,” 232, n. 62.
- 147 For the back-mantle, see [Chapter 4](#), p. 119. For the general appearance of the *kanephoroi*, see Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens*, 223–226.
- 148 The literary sources indicate that, despite their noncitizen status, metics wore purple *himatia* and carried gold and silver vessels.
- 149 For parasols, see [Chapter 5](#), pp. 167–169. Although their faces were shaded, the literary

- sources suggest that *kanephoroi* also artificially whitened their skin with *psimythion* (Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens*, 225 and n. 35).
- 150 Neils, “Pride, Pomp, and Circumstance,” 190–193.
- 151 These events were apparently open to all Greek men, while pyrrhic dancing and the *Euandria* were restricted to members of the Athenian tribes established by Kleisthenes. See J. Neils, “The Panathenaia and Kleisthenic Ideology,” in W. D. E. Coulson and O. Palagia, eds., *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy* (Oxford, 1994), 151–160.
- 152 For the uses of olive oil in Greek athletics, see [Chapter 3](#), p. 57 and pp. 60–61.
- 153 A. Kosmopoulou, “The Relief Base of Atarbos, Akropolis Museum 1338,” in K. J. Hartswick and M. C. Sturgeon, eds., *Stephanos: Studies in Honor of Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway* (Philadelphia, 1998), 163–172 and Figure 18.4; G. Ferrari (Pinney), “Pallas and Panathenaia,” in J. Christiansen and T. Melander, eds., *Proceedings of the Third Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery* (Copenhagen, 1987), 465–477; E. L. Wheeler, “‘Hoplomachia’ and Greek Dances in Arms,” *GRBS* 23 (1982): 231.
- 154 Neils, “The Panathenaia and Kleisthenic Ideology,” 154–159 and Figures 6–14. For *Euandria* at Athens and elsewhere, see N. B. Crowther, “Male Beauty Contests in Greece,” *AntCl* 54 (1985): 285–291.
- The gesture of the youth in [Figure 7.15](#), holding open his *himation* to reveal his genitals, underscores the significance of nudity in the ritual. For deliberate bodily display, which generally has homoerotic overtones, see [Chapter 6](#), pp. 192–195.
- 155 Neils, “The Panathenaia and Kleisthenic Ideology,” 159.
- 156 As noted by Bonfante in her introduction to *The World of Roman Costume*, p. 5.
- 157 Compare the satirical punishment for male adulterers: humiliation by means of genital depilation ([Chapter 3](#), p. 81).
- 158 G. Compton-Engle, “Stolen Cloaks in Aristophanes’ *Ecclesiazusae*,” *TAPA* 135 (2005): 164–166, with earlier references.
- 159 Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*, 271–272; Bassi, “Male Nudity and Disguise in the Discourse of Greek Histrionics,” 6–7; R. Garland, “The Well Ordered Corpse: An Investigation into the Motives behind Greek Funerary Legislation,” *BICS* 36 (1989): 3–5.
- Outside of Athens, prescriptions and proscriptions for dress in funerary contexts appear primarily in sacred laws; see pp. 215–216.
- 160 For a general overview, see Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*, 268–292. For continuities in modern Greece, see Danforth, *The Death Rituals of Rural Greece*, esp. 13–15.
- For a cross-cultural analysis of the central role of women in determining funerary “fashion,” see A. Cannon, “Gender and Agency in Mortuary Fashion,” in G. F. M. Rakita, et al., eds., *Interacting with the Dead: Perspectives on Mortuary Archaeology for the New Millennium* (Gainesville, FL, 2005), 41–65.
- 161 H. A. Shapiro, “The Iconography of Mourning in Athenian Art,” *AJA* 95.4 (1991): 629.
- The iconographic conventions surrounding death and mourning are discernible in the earliest Greek figurative art, dating to the eighth century BCE. On the Geometric-style vases used to mark the graves of elites, male and female figures are distinguished by means of physiognomy, dress, hairstyle, and various accessories – especially armor and weaponry for male figures. Both sexes are provided with special funerary garments and patterned biercloths; see G. Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora in Greek Geometric Art* (Göteborg, 1971), 40–42, and [Chapter 4](#).
- 162 The series of folds at the back of the head recall the bunched *himation*, which functioned as a kind of visual shorthand for veiling (see p. 294, n. 197). Perhaps the artist has employed this same device in order to show the head and face of the deceased, which we are to understand was covered by the shroud?
- For wedding crowns, see this chapter, p. 210 and [Chapter 5](#), pp. 142–145.
- 163 Ferrari, “What Kind of Rite of Passage Was the Ancient Greek Wedding?” 35–37. Compare the dress and jewelry of Phrasikleia, who has been identified as a bride (see [Chapter 5](#), pp. 142–151).
- 164 For tattoos as Thracian ethnic markers, see [Chapter 3](#), pp. 84–86. The body of the nurse is partly obscured by the edge of a patterned

- zeira* worn by a Thracian horseman (see Chapter 4, pp. 124–125).
- 165 The two “natural pollutions” of death and birth afflict women more than men (Parker, *Miasma*, 33).
- 166 See most recently M. S. Mirto, *Death in the Greek World: From Homer to the Classical Age* (Norman, OK, 2012), 66–70; also Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*<sup>2</sup>, 23–28; and D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (London, 1971), 143–144.
- 167 Illustrated, for example, on an archaic black-figure *loutrophoros* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. 27.228). The tradition of placing a coin (“Charon’s obol”) in the mouth of the deceased became popular starting in the Hellenistic period.
- 168 For bathing in funerary rites, see Ginouvès, *Balaneutike*, 239–264.
- 169 *Loutrophoroi* are discussed in Kurtz and Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs*, 149–161. The significance of such vessels is indicated by the fact that, at Athens, they were used as grave markers for those who had died unmarried (Shapiro, “The Iconography of Mourning in Athenian Art,” 647).
- 170 Oakley, *Picturing Death in Classical Athens*; Shapiro, “The Iconography of Mourning in Athenian Art,” 648–655.
- 171 The profound connection between hair and mourning extends into the modern period, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the popular use of mourning jewelry made from locks of hair from a deceased loved one. See especially M. Pointon, “Materializing Mourning: Hair, Jewellery and the Body,” in M. Kwint et al., eds., *Material Memories: Design and evocation* (Oxford, 1999), 39–57.
- 172 Morizot, “Les grecs, leurs vêtements, leur image,” 43–45.
- 173 Cairns, “Weeping and Veiling.”
- 174 Parker, *Miasma*, 36; Ginouvès, *Balaneutike*, 241–242.
- 175 P. Stallybrass, “Worn Worlds: Clothes, Mourning, and the Life of Things,” *Yale Review* 81.2 (1993): 36–37.



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